

The German Garden City Movement:  
Architecture, Politics and Urban Transformation, 1902-1931.

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

2012

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## ABSTRACT

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This dissertation examines the German garden city movement from aesthetic, economic, and political vantage points in an attempt to determine how the leaders of the Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft (German Garden City Association) adapted the English movement to indigenous ideas and conditions. In particular, it gives an account of the central role of the Kampffmeyer cousins in shaping the intellectual framework of the movement. The Kampffmeyers synthesized the work of a variety of German architects and political economists into a coherent platform for the transformation of urban form and urban life. They and their cohorts embraced a model of society based upon collective ownership of land and emphasized communal benefits over individual profit. Despite their leftist leanings, the leaders of the organization divorced their activities from party politics and adopted pragmatic statutes that were vague enough to allow for the participation of more conservative members. The garden city movement overlapped with numerous turn-of-the-century reform efforts, most notably land reform, housing reform, women's rights and temperance, and proponents of the idea aimed to offer a physical space where those reforms could be enacted.

Architects involved in the movement, such as Richard Riemerschmid, Heinrich Tessenow, and Bruno Taut, searched for new forms in urban planning and architecture to adequately express the realities of modern life and to facilitate the desired social reforms. Garden city communities were meant to combine the best of city and country and to incorporate both agricultural and industry; their architecture reflected this mixture, drawing on local vernacular styles and standardized, industrial elements. No prescription for the creation of garden city architecture existed other than the demands for simplicity and functionality common in much of the artistic discourse of the time, combined with a desire to give physical expression to the communal nature of the undertakings. This study investigates the full range of garden cities built in Germany, examining lesser-known examples such as Gartenstadt Marienbrunn outside Leipzig and Gartenstadt Stockfeld near Strasbourg, alongside more famous examples like Hellerau. In doing so, it illuminates the diversity of architectural experimentation that took place before World War I and the ways in which the garden cities laid the groundwork for the modernist housing settlements of the Weimar era.

## **Table of Contents**

List of Illustrations	ii
Acknowledgements	x
Dedication	xii
<b>Introduction</b>	1
<b>Chapter 1:</b> The Intersection of Art and Politics: The Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft and its Predecessors in Berlin	13
<b>Chapter 2:</b> Models of Co-operative Association in the German Garden City Movement	39
<b>Chapter 3:</b> The Pre-War Propaganda of the DGG	65
<b>Chapter 4:</b> The Triumph of Pragmatism in the Reception and Practical Endeavors of the DGG	100
<b>Chapter 5:</b> Camillo Sitte and Urban Planning Trends within the German Garden City Movement	138
<b>Chapter 6:</b> Modernity versus Tradition: The Architectural Paradox of the German Garden City	208
<b>Chapter 7:</b> Post-War Adaptations of the Garden City Ideal	294
Bibliography	334
Appendices:	
A: Membership lists 1902-1906	356
B: Gartenstadt Hellerau Questionnaire and Summary of Results	373

## Illustrations:

Fig. 1	Portrait of Ebenezer Howard. [ <a href="http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/h/howard/ebenezer/index.html">http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/h/howard/ebenezer/index.html</a> ]	2
Fig. 2	Garden Cities under construction prior to World War I. [Author's own drawing]	6
Fig. 3	Schematic Drawing of Howard's Garden City. [Ebenezer Howard, <i>To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform</i> , 30]	19
Fig. 4	Theodor Fritsch's Stadt der Zukunft (City of the Future). [Dirk Schubert, ed. <i>Die Gartenstadtidee zwischen reaktionärer Ideologie und pragmatischer Umsetzung</i> , 131]	19
Fig. 5	Großen Sommer Waldfest. [Rolf Kauffeldt and Gertrude Cepl-Kaufmann., <i>Berlin-Friedrichshagen</i> , 205.]	25
Fig. 6	Poster advertising the first festival of the Neue Gemeinschaft and invitation to Spring Festival, 1900. [Rolf Kauffeldt and Gertrude Cepl-Kaufmann., <i>Berlin-Friedrichshagen</i> , 322-323.]	25
Fig. 7	Festival in Ostendorf Platz, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, ca. 1922. [ <i>Das Silberhochzeitsbuch</i> , 73. Kampffmeyer Family Papers, Ute Hamann]	30
Fig. 8	Festivities in connection with the Kongress für Internationales Wohnungswesen (International Congress for Housing), Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, September 23, 1926. [Kampffmeyer Family Papers, Ute Hamann]	30
Fig. 9	Plan of Charles Fourier's <i>Phalanstère</i> . [Fourier, <i>Theory of Social Organization</i> , Part II, p. 90]	43
Fig. 10	Peter Kropotkin. [ <a href="http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Peter_Kropotkin_circa_1900.jpg">http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Peter_Kropotkin_circa_1900.jpg</a> ]	47
Fig. 11	Gustav Landauer. [ <a href="http://www.constantinbrunner.info/blog/blogarc2003-2">www.constantinbrunner.info/blog/blogarc2003-2</a> .]	50
Fig. 12	Franz Oppenheimer. [ <a href="http://www.franz-oppenheimer.de/foto.php">http://www.franz-oppenheimer.de/foto.php</a> ]	51
Fig. 13	The <i>Konsum</i> at Obstbaukolonie Eden. [Author's photo]	61
Fig. 14	The <i>Konsum</i> at Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform outside Magdeburg. [Author's photo]	61
Fig. 15	Bernhard Kampffmeyer, ca. 1930. [Kampffmeyer Family Papers, Jochen Schmidt]	70
Fig. 16	Hans Kampffmeyer, ca. 1907. [Kampffmeyer Family Papers, Leni Kampffmeyer]	70
Fig. 17	First page of the January 1911 issue of <i>Gartenstadt</i> , the official magazine of the DGG. [Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin]	73
Fig. 18	Pages from Flugschrift No. 7. [Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin]	86
Fig. 19	Pages from the brochure for the sixth study tour of England. [Magistratskaten MA S2.263, Bd. III, no. 18, Institut für Stadtgeschichte (Frankfurt)]	93

Fig. 20	Welcome gate at the Garden Village of New Earswick. <i>[Aus englischen Gartenstädten, 12]</i>	96
Fig. 21	Participants of the 1909 study tour enjoying a meal in the auditorium at Port Sunlight. <i>[Aus englischen Gartenstädten, 12]</i>	96
Fig. 22	King Friedrich August III of Saxony visits Gartenstadt Marienbrunn, June 22, 1913. <i>[90 Jahre Marienbrunn 1913-2003, 4]</i>	108
Fig. 23	Richard Riemerschmid's plan for Gartenstadt Hellerau, ca. 1910. <i>[Die Gartenstadt Hellerau, 9]</i>	148
Fig. 24	Richard Riemerschmid, row houses along am Talkenberg, Gartenstadt Hellerau. <i>[Author's photo]</i>	149
Fig. 25	Richard Riemerschmid, view of houses lining Am Hellerrand, Gartenstadt Hellerau. <i>[Author's photo]</i>	149
Fig. 26	Richard Riemerschmid, row houses along Am Grünen Zipfel, Gartenstadt Hellerau. <i>[Author's photo]</i>	151
Fig. 27	Richard Riemerschmid, Marktplatz, Gartenstadt Hellerau. <i>[Author's photo]</i>	151
Fig. 28	Georg Metzendorf's plan for Margarethenhöhe, ca. 1909. <i>[Rainer Metzendorf, Georg Metzendorf 1874-1934, 65]</i>	152
Fig. 29	Karl Henrici, projected plan of extension for the city of Dessau, 1890. <i>[George and Christiane Collins, Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning, plate XV]</i>	156
Fig. 30	Richard Riemerschmid, plan of Gartenstadt Nürnberg, 1909. <i>[Axel Schollmeier, Gartenstädte in Deutschland, Plate 114]</i>	156
Fig. 31	Paul Schmitthenner, row houses on Am Langen Weg, Gartenstadt Staaken, 1914. <i>[Author's photo]</i>	157
Fig. 32	Paul Schmitthenner, plan of Gartenstadt Staaken, ca. 1918. <span style="float: right;">[Jean-Francois Lejeune, "From Hellerau to the Bauhaus," 60]</span>	157
Fig. 33	Esch & Anke, first design for Gartenstadt Mannheim, ca. 1911. <i>[Axel Schollmeier, Gartenstädte in Deutschland, Plate 12]</i>	160
Fig. 34	Plan of the city of Mannheim, from a 1925 Bäderplan. <i>[ETH Bibliothek Bildarchiv]</i>	160
Fig. 35	Hans Kampffmeyer, plan of Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, 1910. <i>[Die Gartenstadt Karlsruhe 1907-1932, 38]</i>	161
Fig. 36	Plan of Karlsruhe, designed ca. 1715. <i>[David B. Brownlee, ed. Friedrich Weinbrenner, Architect of Karlsruhe, 4]</i>	161
Fig. 37	Esch & Anke, line drawings of street network for Gartenstadt Mannheim. <i>[Author's reproduction of drawing from Esch &amp; Anke to the Vorstand der Gartenvorstadt-Genossenschaft Mannheim, 4 September 1911. XXII. Polizei, 5. Bauwesen, 1962 Nr. 462 Institut für Stadtgeschichte (Mannheim)]</i>	163

Fig. 38.	Esch & Anke, row houses on Westring, Gartenstadt Mannheim, ca. 1910. [Author's photo]	163
Fig. 39	Plan of Gartenstadt Leipzig-Marienbrunn, ca. 1913. [ <i>Die Gartenstadt Leipzig-Marienbrunn</i> , frontispiece]	164
Fig. 40	Original plan of Gartenstadt Stockfeld, Strasbourg, ca. 1910-1912. [ <i>Gartenstadt</i> 4, no. 1 (January 1910), 3]	167
Fig. 41	Parker & Unwin, plan of Letchworth, ca. 1907. [ <i>Aus englischen Gartenstädte</i> , 141]	167
Fig. 42	Hans Kampffmeyer and Hans Bernoulli, Initial plan for Gartenstadt Kolonie-Reform, Magdeburg, ca. 1911. [Olaf Gisbertz, <i>Bruno Taut und Johannes Göderitz in Magdeburg</i> , 279]	171
Fig. 43	Bruno Taut, Zur Siedlungs-Reform, Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform, Magdeburg. [Author's photo]	171
Fig. 44	Bruno Taut, plan for Gartenstadt Falkenberg, Berlin. [Winfried Nerdinger, Kristiana Hartmann, Matthias Schirren and Manfred Speidel, eds. <i>Bruno Taut 1880-1938</i> , 142]	172
Fig. 45	Richard Riemerschmid, perspective view of market place, Gartenstadt Hellerau. [ <i>Die Gartenstadt Hellerau</i> , 61]	174
Fig. 46	Georg Metzendorf, market square, Margarethenhöhe, outside Essen, ca. 1910. [Rainer Metzendorf, <i>Georg Metzendorf 1874-1934</i> , 65]	177
Fig. 47	Georg Metzendorf, the Krupp'sche <i>Konsumanstalt</i> , Margarethenhöhe. [Georg Metzendorf, <i>Kleinwohnungsbauten und Siedlungen</i> , 91]	177
Fig. 48	Hans Eduard von Berlepsch-Valendàs and P. A. Hansen, Aerial view of the planned garden city of München-Perlach. [ <i>Gartenstadt</i> 4, no. 5 (May 1910), 52]	178
Fig. 49	H. Wagner's diagram explaining the relationship of street width, building height and light exposure for buildings in Bremen. [ <i>Gartenstadt</i> 6, no. 8 (August 1912), 136]	184
Fig. 50	Hermann Muthesius, Am Dorffrieden, Gartenstadt Hellerau, ca. 1910. [Author's photo]	189
Fig. 51	Dahlienweg, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe. [Author's photo]	189
Fig. 52	Richard Riemerschmid, Am Grünen Zipfel, Gartenstadt Hellerau, ca. 1909. [Author's photo]	190
Fig. 53	H. Lotz, 8-house group on Hirschensuhl, Gartenstadt Nürnberg, 1913. [Author's photo]	190
Fig. 54	Richard Riemerschmid, Ruscheweg, Gartenstadt Hellerau. [Author's photo]	193
Fig. 55	Paul Schmitthenner, Torweg, Gartenstadt Staaken, ca. 1914. [Author's photo]	193



Fig. 56	Bruno Taut, Akazienhof, Gartenstadt Falkenberg, ca. 1914. [Winfried Nerdinger, Kristiana Hartmann, Matthias Schirren and Manfred Speidel, eds. <i>Bruno Taut 1880-1938</i> , 143]	196
Fig. 57	Robert Schmohl, Kolonie Alfredshof, Essen, ca. 1894. [ <i>Der westdeutsche Impuls 1900-1914</i> , 109]	196
Fig. 58	Parker & Unwin, Hampstead Garden Suburb, ca. 1907. [ <i>Aus englischen Gartenstädte</i> , 170]	202
Fig. 59	Parker & Unwin, detail of cul-de-sacs, Hampstead Garden Suburb. [Walter L. Creese, ed. <i>The Legacy of Raymond Unwin</i> , 96]	202
Fig. 60	Bruno Taut, Akazienhof, Gartenstadt Falkenberg, ca. 1914. [Author's photo]	204
Fig. 61	Friedrich Ostendorf's revised plan for Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, ca. 1912 (unbuilt). [Axel Schollmeier, <i>Gartenstädte in Deutschland</i> , Plate 58]	204
Fig. 62	Lehr & Leubert, detail of the plan for Gartenstadt Nürnberg, ca. 1912. [Axel Schollmeier, <i>Gartenstädte in Deutschland</i> , Plate 163 and Author's photo]	205
Fig. 63	Georg Metzendorf, plan of Gartenstadt Hüttenau, ca. 1911. [ <i>Gartenstadt</i> 5, no. 7 (July 1911), 82]	205
Fig. 64	A pair of contrasting images from Paul Schultze-Naumburg's <i>Kulturarbeiten</i> , vol. 1, Hausbau. [Paul Schultze-Naumburg, <i>Kulturarbeiten</i> , Band I, 30-31]	210
Fig. 65	Theodor Fischer, house type 5, Gmindersdorf. [ <i>Moderne Bauformen, Monatshefte für Architektur</i> 7, no. 8 (1908), 323]	222
Fig. 66	Theodor Fischer, row house, Gmindersdorf. [ <i>Moderne Bauformen, Monatshefte für Architektur</i> 7, no. 8 (1908), 349]	222
Fig. 67	Richard Riemerschmid, row houses, Im Grünen Zipfel, Gartenstadt Hellerau, ca. 1909. [Author's photo]	225
Fig. 68	Georg Metzendorf, houses along Steile Straße, Margarethenhöhe, ca. 1909. [Author's photo]	225
Fig. 69	Rue du Stockfeld, Gartenstadt Stockfeld, ca. 1911. [Author's photo]	226
Fig. 70	Esch & Anke, row houses, Heidestraße, Gartenstadt Mannheim, ca. 1912. [Author's photo]	228
Fig. 71	Multi-family house, Resedenweg, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe. [Author's photo]	228
Fig. 72	Paul Schmitthenner, row houses, Am Krummen Weg, Gartenstadt Staaken, ca. 1914. [Author's photo]	230
Fig. 73	Paul Schmitthenner, apartment buildings, Am Heideberg, Gartenstadt Staaken, ca. 1914. [Author's photo]	230

Fig. 74	Bruno Taut, row houses, Brenneckestraße, Gartenstadt Kolonie-Reform outside Magdeburg, ca. 1923. [Author's photo]	231
Fig. 75	Row houses, Heckenweg, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, ca. 1913. [Author's photo]	231
Fig. 76	Pair of contrasting facades published in the January 1910 edition of <i>Gartenstadt</i> . [ <i>Gartenstadt</i> 5, no. 2 (February 1911), 24]	233
Fig. 77	Heinrich Tessenow, Am Schankenberg Nr. 1-15, Gartenstadt Hellerau, 1910. [Gerda Wangerin and Gerhard Weiss, <i>Heinrich Tessenow</i> , 197]	236
Fig. 78	Plans, house type 3, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe. [ <i>Die Gartenstadt Karlsruhe 1907-1932</i> , 40]	236
Fig. 79	Heinrich Tessenow, end pavilion of row house, Am Schankenberg, ca. 1910. [Author's photo]	240
Fig. 80	Heinrich Tessenow, house on Am Pfarrlehn, ca. 1911. [Author's photo]	240
Fig. 81	Farmhouse in Baden. [ <i>Das Bauernhaus im Deutschen Reiche und in seinen Grenzgebieten</i> , 276]	241
Fig. 82	Bavarian farmhouse. [ <i>Das Bauernhaus im Deutschen Reiche und in seinen Grenzgebieten</i> , 276]	241
Fig. 83	Farmhouse from the Rheinpfalz. [ <i>Das Bauernhaus im Deutschen Reiche und in seinen Grenzgebieten</i> , 240]	241
Fig. 84	Four housing types, Gartenstadt Hamburg-Wandsbek, ca. 1911. [ <i>Gartenstadt</i> 5, no. 12 (December 1911), 171]	244
Fig. 85	Heinrich Tessenow, drawings of his patented "Tessenow Wall," September 21, 1909. [Marco de Michelis, "In the First German Garden City," 67]	244
Fig. 86	Apartment building, corner of Triftweg and Lerchenrain, Gartenstadt Marienbrunn, 1928. [Author's photo]	246
Fig. 87	Row houses, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, ca. 1910-11. [Author's photo]	246
Fig. 88	Multi-family residence, Gartenstadt Stockfeld, ca. 1911. [Author's photo]	248
Fig. 89	Heinrich Tessenow, row houses, Am Pfarrlehn, Gartenstadt Hellerau, ca. 1912. [Author's photo]	248
Fig. 90	Bruno Taut, apartment building on Gartenstadtweg, Gartenstadt Falkenberg, ca. 1914. [Author's photo]	252
Fig. 91	Bruno Taut, apartment building on Gartenstadtweg, Gartenstadt Falkenberg, ca. 1914. [Author's photo]	252

Fig. 92	Esch & Anke, row houses, Westring, Gartenstadt Mannheim, ca. 1914. [Author's photo]	256
Fig. 93	Bruno Taut, row houses, Akazienhof, Gartenstadt Falkenberg, ca. 1913. [Author's photo]	256
Fig. 94	Georg Metzendorf, typical floor plans for single-family homes in Margarethenhöhe. [Der westdeutsche Impuls 1900-1914, 79]	261
Fig. 95	Georg Metzendorf, typical floor plans for apartments in Margarethenhöhe. [Der westdeutsche Impuls 1900-1914, 78]	261
Fig. 96	Paul Schmitthenner, window variations, Gartenstadt Staaken. [Karl Kiem, Die Gartenstadt Staaken, 54]	263
Fig. 97	Hermann Muthesius, Dalcroze Villa, Gartenstadt Hellerau. [Author's photo]	265
Fig. 98	Theodor Fischer, villa, Gartenstadt Hellerau. [Die Gartenstadt Hellerau, 23]	265
Fig. 99	Heinrich Tessenow, villa on Auf der Sand, Gartenstadt Hellerau. [Author's photo]	265
Fig. 100	Friedrich Ostendorf, Ostendorfplatz, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, ca. 1925. [Author's photo]	267
Fig. 101	Paul Schmitthenner, stores, Heidebergplan, Gartenstadt Staaken, ca. 1914. [Author's photo]	267
Fig. 102	Richard Riemerschmid, market building, Gartenstadt Hellerau, ca. 1910. [Author's photo]	267
Fig. 103	Richard Riemerschmid, factory complex, Gartenstadt Hellerau, ca. 1909. [Author's photo]	268
Fig. 104	Richard Riemerschmid, factory complex, Gartenstadt Hellerau, ca. 1909. [Author's photo]	268
Fig. 105	Richard Riemerschmid, plan of the factory complex, Gartenstadt Hellerau, ca. 1909. [Die Gartenstadt Hellerau, 17]	268
Fig. 106	Heinrich Tessenow, Festspielhaus, Gartenstadt Hellerau, 1910-1912. [Author's photo]	268
Fig. 107	Georg Metzendorf, Krupp'sche Konsumanstalt, Margarethenhöhe, ca. 1912. [Author's photo]	271
Fig. 108	Georg Metzendorf, Gasthof, Margarethenhöhe, ca. 1912. [Author's photo]	271

Fig. 109	Leberecht Migge, gardens between Arminiusshof and Am Bogen, Gartenstadt Leipzig-Marienbrunn, ca. 1913. [ <i>Gartenstadt</i> 8 , no. 1 (January 1914), 3]	275
Fig. 110	Leberecht Migge, gardens between Arminiusshof and Am Bogen (left) and an unspecified garden (right), Gartenstadt Leipzig-Marienbrunn, ca. 1913. [ <i>Gartenstadt</i> 8 , no. 1 (January 1914), 4 and 8]	275
Fig. 111	Example of row house garden for Gartenstadt Hellerau. [ <i>Gartenstadt</i> 5, no. 7 (July 1911), 87]	277
Fig. 112	Example of second garden configuration for row houses. [ <i>Gartenstadt</i> 5, no. 8 (August 1911), 104]	277
Fig. 113	Example of page of Hellerau questionnaire. [Kristianna Hartmann, <i>Deutsche Gartenstadtbewegung</i> , 51]	287
Fig. 114	Garden view of the Kampffmeyer House, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe. [Kampffmeyer Family Papers, Irmel Roth]	291
Fig. 115	Hans Kampffmeyer reading in a room in their house in Gartenstadt Karlsruhe. [Kampffmeyer Family Papers, Ute Hamann]	291
Fig. 116	Theodor Merrill, project for an <i>Invalidenheim</i> , Gartensiedlung Gronauer Wald, ca. 1915. [ <i>Gartenstadt</i> 8, no. 11 (October 1916), 220]	299
Fig. 117	Theodor Merrill, project for an <i>Invalidenheim</i> , Gartensiedlung Gronauer Wald, ca. 1915. [Hermann Salomon, <i>Unseren Kriegsinvaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlungen</i> , 38]	299
Fig. 118	Jacobus Göttel, <i>Ledigenheim</i> for Garten-vorstadt Bonn, ca. 1915. [Hermann Salomon, <i>Unseren Kriegsinvaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlungen</i> , 70]	299
Fig. 119	Bruno Taut, <i>Ledigenheim</i> and row houses planned for Gartenstadt Falkenberg, ca. 1915. [Hermann Salomon, <i>Unseren Kriegsinvaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlungen</i> , 53]	300
Fig. 120	Bruno Taut, <i>Ledigenheim</i> and row houses planned for Gartenstadt Falkenberg, ca. 1915. [Hermann Salomon, <i>Unseren Kriegsinvaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlungen</i> , 57]	300
Fig. 121	Bruno Taut, plan of Gartenstadt Falkenberg with housing for war invalids, ca. 1915. [Hermann Salomon, <i>Unseren Kriegsinvaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlungen</i> , 54]	301
Fig. 122	Bruno Taut, view towards the west from <i>Die Stadtkrone</i> , 1919. [Bruno Taut, <i>Die Stadtkrone</i> , 65]	306
Fig. 123	Bruno Taut, aerial perspective from <i>Die Stadtkrone</i> , 1919. [Bruno Taut, <i>Die Stadtkrone</i> , 68]	306
Fig. 124	Ebenezer Howard, Social City Diagram from <i>To-Morrow: A Path to Real Reform</i> , 1898. [Howard, <i>To-morrow: A Path to Real Reform</i> , 158]	309
Fig. 125	Expansion plan for the city of Breslau, ca. 1925. [ <i>Gartenstadt</i> 10, no. 2 (July 1925), 8]	313

Fig. 126	Expansion plan for the city of Breslau, ca. 1925. [ <i>Gartenstadt</i> 10, no. 2 (July 1925) 8]	313
Fig. 127	Bruno Taut Hufeisen Siedlung, Berlin-Britz, 1925-1927. [Author's photo]	319
Fig. 128	Figure 128. Bruno Taut, Onkel Toms Hütte, Berlin-Zehlendorf, ca. 1926. [Author's photo]	319
Fig. 129	Ernst May, Römerstadt, Frankfurt, ca. 1927. [Author's photo]	319
Fig. 130	Bruno Taut and Franz Hillinger, site plan for Wohnstadt Carl Legien, Berlin, 1929-1930. [Maria Berning, et al., <i>Berliner Wohnquartiere</i> , 140]	320
Fig. 131	Bruno Taut and Franz Hillinger, Wohnstadt Carl Legien, Berlin, ca. 1929. [Author's photo]	320
Fig. 132	Bruno Taut and Franz Hillinger, Wohnstadt Carl Legien, Berlin, ca. 1929. [Author's photo]	320
Fig. 133	Hans Scharoun, site plan for Siemensstadt, Berlin, ca. 1929. [Maria Berning, et al., <i>Berliner Wohnquartiere</i> , 152]	321
Fig. 134	Hugo Häring Siemensstadt, Berlin, ca. 1930. [Author's photo]	321
Fig. 135	Hans Scharoun Siemensstadt, Berlin, ca. 1930. [Author's photo]	321
Fig. 136	Clarence Stein and Henry Wright, plan for Radburn, NJ., 1929. [Stanley Buder, <i>Visionaries and Planners</i> , plate 15]	330
Fig. 137	Plan for Milton Keynes, New Town, England, 1970. [Hazel Evans, Hazel, ed. <i>New Towns: The British Experience</i> , 109]	330

## **Acknowledgements**

The process of writing this dissertation has been long and sometimes arduous. I owe a great debt of gratitude to my advisors, Barry Bergdoll and Mary McLeod, for their insightful comments and unflagging moral and scholarly support. I would also like to thank the rest of my committee: Gwendolyn Wright and Jonathan Reynolds, for their helpful suggestions for improving this manuscript, and Volker Berghahn, for his advice and his kind offer to check the accuracy of my German translations.

The archival research for this dissertation took place in cities across Germany. I found the staff members of these archives and libraries unfailingly helpful, and I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge their help here. To that end, I would like to thank Dr. Petra Albrecht, Dr. Eva-Maria Barkhofen, Barbara Heinze and Frau Bock at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin; Klaus Anton Altenbucher at the Architekturmuseum der Technische Universität in Munich; Grit Boljahn at the Deutsches Gartenbaumuseum in Erfurt; Dr. Irmtraud von Adrian-Werberg at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum; Claudia Schübler at the Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt; Dr. Andres Lepik at the Kunstbibliothek; Dr. Christmut Präger at the Kunsthalle Mannheim; Kerstin Bötticher at the Landesarchiv Berlin; Gisela Hoppe at the Landeshauptstadt Dresden Stadtarchiv; Dorothee Lemser and Gabriele Weber at the Monacensia Literaturarchiv und Bibliothek; Peter Bayer at the Sächsisches Staatsarchiv/Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden; Angelika Sauer at the Stadtarchiv Karlsruhe; Dr. Christoph Popp and Dr. Hanspeter Rings at the Stadtarchiv Mannheim; Jens Andres Pfeiffer at the Stadt- und Landesbibliothek Dortmund; and Rita Wolters at the Werkbundarchiv – Museum der Dinge. Equally helpful were the representatives of the various garden city and housing organizations I

consulted, including Sylvia Walleczek at the Berliner Bau- und Wohnungsgenossenschaft von 1892; Dr. Anette Helmut at the Deutsche Werkstätten Hellerau; Wolfgang Pahl at the Gartenstadt-Genossenschaft Mannheim; Susanne Mai at Gartenstadt Karlsruhe; Dietmar Reinert at Gartenstadt Nürnberg; and Renatte Amann at the Genossenschaftsforum in Berlin.

I am particularly grateful to the members of the Kampffmeyer family who welcomed me into their homes, regaled me with stories about their loved ones and opened their personal collections for my research, including Dr. Thomas Kampffmeyer, Sibylle Schwartzlose, Jochen Schmidt, Leni Kampffmeyer, Hans-Jörg Kampffmeyer, Ruth Kampffmeyer, Irmel Roth, and most importantly, Ute Hamann, to whom I have dedicated this dissertation. I owe similar thanks to Dr. Christophe De Rentiis, the grandson of Hellerau founder, Karl Schmidt, for a lovely evening and insight into his grandfather's work.

Lastly, I would like to thank my friends and family, without whom I could not have finished this dissertation. I have never once doubted the love and support of my parents. Words cannot adequately express my gratitude for all they have done for me. My brother's strength in the face of great difficulties inspires me and puts everything into perspective. My friends Jessica Basciano and Jennifer Gray have traveled this road beside me. Our conversations have helped me to work through particularly intractable problems in my writing and always remind me why I started this process in the first place.

This dissertation is dedicated to Ute Hamann for her much valued friendship and generosity in granting me access to her family's papers.



## Introduction

Ebenezer Howard's book, *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, burst upon the scene in 1898. His highly synthetic and flexible idea for a community that combined the best of urban and rural life would resonate deeply with a wide variety of reformers concerned about conditions in late nineteenth-century cities. Howard provided not only a basic schematic diagram for the physical form of the town but also an economic foundation meant to combat the ills of the modern metropolis. His garden city removed the possibility of land and building speculation through communal ownership of property. Any increase in land value resulting from development would, therefore, benefit the community as a whole and provide funds for social services and community buildings. Howard's ideas rapidly spread throughout the Western world but would find particularly fertile soil in Germany.

A decade after the publication of his book, on the way back from the International Esperanto Congress in Krakow, Howard visited the German garden city of Hellerau, just outside Dresden. He revealed his favorable impressions of the German endeavor in a letter that was published in the magazine of the Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft (DGG) or German Garden City Association. Howard reported:

Hellerau is not simply an imitation of the English garden suburbs, rather it reveals the essence of the German people, who forge their own path and learn from others but do not slavishly copy. Its extent is humble in comparison to Letchworth, which to my regret is the only true garden city in England, but it is not small in comparison to some of the English garden suburbs.<sup>1</sup>

Howard went on to praise Jacques Dalcroze's Institut für rhythmische Gymnastik (Institute for Rhythmic Gymnastics) and the design of Richard Riemerschmid's factory building but did not

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<sup>1</sup> "Ebenezer Howard über Hellerau," *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 10 (October 1912): 176.



Figure 1. Ebenezer Howard.

explore further the qualities that distinguished Hellerau from its English predecessors. This dissertation aims to do just that: to examine the various influences on the German movement, both English and indigenous, theoretical and practical, and to investigate the ways in which the movement adapted to its new surroundings.

Why focus on the German movement rather than its English predecessor? A close examination of the German garden city movement underscores the flexibility of the original model, in particular the way the DGG maintained Howard's core concepts even as its

leaders modified the means of achieving those principles to reflect local economic and architectural conditions. In addition, the German garden city movement was one of the earliest and most influential of the international movements inspired by Howard's book and the English organization that quickly sprang up to advocate for his ideas. Nearly every large German city had a garden city organization – from Hamburg to Dresden to Berlin to Munich – and the Germans also played a fundamental role in disseminating the idea to Eastern Europe through their study tours of English and German housing settlements.

The garden city concept resonated deeply with the middle-class reformers who made up the majority of the DGG's membership and who looked to England for ways of coping with the rapid industrialization they now faced. This was due, in part, to the fact that the DGG stood at

the fulcrum of a wide variety of reform movements in Germany – from land reform to the temperance movement to women’s rights and the cooperative movement – incorporating elements from each of them and supporting their endeavors in the wider culture, all the while advocating for the creation of garden cities as physical and social spaces in which the goals of those movements could be achieved immediately. The German garden city movement is unthinkable without the context of reform in which it participated, and an exploration of the efforts of the DGG reveals just how closely intertwined the protagonists of the various reform movements were.

Lastly, the German garden city movement coincided with a period of great experimentation in modern architecture, a movement more closely connected with Germany than with England. The architects associated with the DGG and with the individual garden cities experimented with various versions of modernism, incorporating vernacular and industrial traditions and exploring concepts of aesthetic simplification and standardization at a time when the core precepts of modern architecture were up for grabs. No one had yet codified a single modernist aesthetic, and the garden city movement allowed its advocates the freedom and flexibility to develop a wide range of urban planning and architectural concepts, as long as they adhered to certain basic (and rather vague) principles such as simplicity and respect for local conditions. Many of the architects associated with the garden cities would go on to design well-known public housing settlements of the Weimar era; the lessons learned in their early endeavors deeply influenced the modernist settlements, whether in the inclusion of gardens and community services, in the emphasis on light and ventilation or in the intricate balance of private and public funding that allowed construction to proceed.

Numerous dissertations and articles have focused on the histories of individual German garden cities, although there is a remarkable paucity of material in English. More importantly, the scholars Kristiana Hartmann and Axel Schollmeier conducted groundbreaking research that outlined the basic history of the German movement. Both of these authors also revealed tantalizing clues as to various influences on the leaders of the DGG but, given the broad focus of their studies, were unable to follow up those clues with in-depth analysis. In her 1976 book, *Deutsche Gartenstadtbewegung: Kulturpolitik und Gesellschaftsreform* (The German Garden City Movement: Cultural Politics and Societal Reform), for example, Hartmann pointed out connections to anarchist and cooperative thinkers such as Peter Kropotkin and Franz Oppenheimer but did not fully explore the degree to which the DGG borrowed ideas from these men. I have built on these scholars' research to explore the complex dialogue between the DGG and the general reform environment at the turn of the century and between the English and German garden city movements.

No central archive exists for the DGG, so I have had to piece together the publications of the organization to provide a sense of their activities and the general intellectual and aesthetic trends within the movement. I also conducted research in a number of the archives of individual garden cities, in particular Hellerau, Nürnberg, Mannheim and Karlsruhe, although the records at many of these organization are incomplete. I supplemented the sources produced by the actors in the movement with contemporary architecture magazines and newspapers, along with a limited number of histories of individual garden cities – many of them produced at intervals by the organizations themselves to mark various anniversaries – and a handful of personal letters written by the board of the DGG, in particular the cousins, Hans and Bernhard Kampffmeyer. The nature of the historical record forced me to rely on propaganda intended to convince readers

of the benefits of garden city developments; I have tried to provide context for the DGG's claims wherever possible.

Unlike Kristiana Hartmann, who focused on the eastern garden cities of Hellerau and Falkenberg, and Axel Schollmeier, who emphasized the garden cities clustered in the western region of the country, namely Karlsruhe, Mannheim, Nürnberg and Hüttenau, I aim to give a sense of the entirety of the German movement and also of the relationship between the DGG and the local organizations.<sup>2</sup> To this end, I have concentrated on the garden cities to which the DGG gave their tacit approval through their repeated inclusion in the organization's monthly magazine, *Gartenstadt*. Many of these endeavors, such as Gartenstadt Mannheim and Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform near Magdeburg, were founded through the intercession of board members of the DGG. Others such as Hellerau or Margarethenhöhe were independent creations influenced by the propaganda of the DGG but with no direct connection to the national organization. To exclude these latter examples because the DGG did not have a hand in their creation would have created a highly skewed picture of the movement, especially as the DGG reported on them as faithfully as they did their own activities.

Most of the chapters deal with the time period before 1914, as this was the most intense period of propaganda and construction. Before the ravages of war and the resulting economic crisis destroyed the funding possibilities for the garden cities and made the low-density settlements advocated by the DGG nearly impossible to continue, the organization managed to initiate garden cities outside all of the major industrial cities in Germany (Figure 2). I have concentrated on a different aspect of the movement in each chapter of the dissertation. The first chapter focuses on the historical backdrop for the movement, in particular the political and social

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<sup>2</sup> Of course, the political realities of the divided Germany may have been as great a factor in Kristiana Hartmann's choice to focus on Hellerau and Falkenberg as their undoubted significance within the movement.



Figure 2. German garden cities under construction prior to World War I.

milieu surrounding the foundation of the DGG and of its immediate predecessor the Neue Gemeinschaft. The second analyzes the intellectual and theoretical influences (other than Howard) on the founders of the DGG. It explores their connections to the anarcho-socialist and cooperative movements through their friendships with Peter Kropotkin, Gustav Landauer and Franz Oppenheimer. The third catalogues the unflagging propaganda activities of the DGG and

the relationship of the national organization to the local groups founded to build individual garden cities. The fourth chapter explores the economic tools used by the garden cities to acquire land and the struggles they faced in maintaining Howard's ideal of communal property. The fifth and sixth chapters focus on the aesthetics of the movement, both in terms of urban planning and architecture. Here, once again, I attempt to unravel the conditions unique to Germany and the degree of influence from England. I also attempt to reveal the aesthetic variations within the movement by broadening the focus beyond Hellerau, the most well-known example, which in many cases has come to be synonymous with the larger movement. The final chapter deals with the post-war iterations of the garden city concept and the lasting influence of the movement within Germany and on twentieth-century planning more generally.

A central tension ran through the work of the DGG and appears in various guises in each of the chapters: namely, the tension between the individual and the collective. The leaders of the DGG prided themselves on their pragmatic ability to reconcile opposites, and many of their most interesting achievements resulted from attempts to navigate the increasingly polarized political and aesthetic landscape of the early twentieth century. The garden cities were viewed (at least by their proponents) as a middle ground between the overly individualistic, capitalistic society of the late nineteenth century and the centralized collectivism of the radical left. Garden city advocates called for communally-owned land to avoid speculation and cooperatives to produce the food and goods needed by the community. However, they believed that individuals should have the right to open businesses and choose a profession and, like Howard, envisioned that competition among various firms and farms would result in the most efficient methods of production. In this model, talented individuals could still rise to the top, and earnings would

reflect merit. The degree to which the municipality would provide services and regulate businesses would be determined by the preferences of the inhabitants and the efficiency of the municipality in performing its duties. The community could adjust its position on the sliding scale between pure capitalism and pure communism based on current conditions, but neither pole would ever dominate.<sup>3</sup> In actuality, even the fundamental principle of communal property proved far from simple to implement. Many German garden cities developed intricate combinations of leasehold and the right to repurchase land in order to maintain the spirit of Howard's endeavor while satisfying the demands of donors and inhabitants.

Similarly, garden city architects struggled to find a balance between expressions of individuality and community. They often distinguished the communal areas of the plans from the residential in terms of the style of planning, the grandeur of the architecture and the amount of open space, but they simultaneously attempted to integrate these public spaces into the larger fabric of the community and to make sure that they were easily accessible by all residents. Tensions between the individual and the community also existed *within* the residential quarters of the plans. Residents felt the need to express their personalities in terms of decoration and color, even as the garden city administrators and architects attempted to constrain the wildest effusions of the inhabitants. Architects constructed each house with its neighbors in mind and attempted to give physical expression to the individual's role within the community through the repetition of architectural elements and forms and the grouping of houses. Architects also attempted to find an equilibrium between respect for the vernacular traditions of a particular locale and explorations of standardization and type, then very much in vogue and which proponents argued could significantly reduce costs. Some of the most striking housing of the

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<sup>3</sup> Ebenezer Howard, *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, orig. ed. with commentary by Peter Hall, Dennis Hardy & Colin Ward, eds. (London: Routledge, 2003), 38, 88, 102.



early twentieth century – such as the row houses that Bruno Taut designed for Falkenberg, which combined eyebrow dormers and brick accents with remarkably simplified forms and the brash use of color – resulted from attempts to reconcile these competing impulses.

Given Germany's role in twentieth-century politics, it is tempting to want to view the movement as either progressive or conservative and to link aesthetic choices with particular ideological stances. Even laying aside the fact that the very terms progressive and conservative are highly problematic, no neat correlation exists. Certainly, central figures such as Schultze-Naumburg clung to ideas of traditional architecture much longer than many of their cohorts and embraced particularly noxious elements of Nazi ideology. However, for every Schultze-Naumburg, there existed someone like Hans Kampffmeyer, who according to his family, ran afoul of the Nazis for printing anti-fascist literature and eventually embraced the flat-roofed modernist dwelling.<sup>4</sup> Even this formulation is too simplistic, however, because aesthetic categories are not inherently ideological. The concept of vernacular architecture illustrates this point perfectly. When the Nazis advocated the reproduction of vernacular styles, they emphasized the link to the German soil and to traditional German society, whereas modernist architects conceptualized vernacular architecture as timeless solutions to functional problems and suggested that it could be a starting point for the creation of a new architecture uniquely suited to the industrial condition.

Even more vexing for any neat categorization of the garden city movement, many members expressed a complicated mixture of motivations that seemed to draw from across the political spectrum. Bernhard Kampffmeyer, for example, melded genuine concern for working-class conditions with an incomprehensible disregard for the rights of Polish inhabitants of eastern territories such as Silesia. In addition, members often grew more radical in their beliefs as the

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<sup>4</sup> Conversation with Thomas Kampffmeyer, 18 November 2006.

century progressed. As their beliefs changed, they selectively highlighted elements of the garden city movement that fit their current ideology, whether that was an emphasis on traditional architecture or on communal kitchens and washrooms. For these reasons and many others, one must be very careful about constructing historical narratives in reverse, reading support for later political movements as evidence of dominant trends within the garden city movement. As unsatisfying as it may be, the ideology of the DGG can best be described as pragmatic. The garden city concept was vague enough to peaceably incorporate radically divergent motivations for the creation of garden cities, and the founders of the movement were canny enough to avoid rhetoric that would alienate any member. They understood that some were drawn to the concept by nostalgia for lost agrarian values and social structures while others envisioned a new egalitarian society. Even though many members of the board had flirted with anarcho-socialism, they cared little for politics or ideological purity; they wanted to build garden cities and trusted that physical improvements to the urban fabric would engender the social improvements they desired.

Questions regarding the success of the German garden city movement are similarly fraught. By the narrowest measure, the movement was a failure: the DGG never succeeded in creating a truly self-sufficient garden city that incorporated industry and agriculture and possessed a green belt delimiting the urban center. By other calculations, however, the movement enjoyed great success throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. The DGG created garden suburbs outside every major German city and, perhaps even more importantly, succeeded in changing the discussion surrounding housing. The very existence of the plans for garden cities showed municipalities that whole communities could be created rather than piecemeal interventions in the existing housing stock. The *Siedlungen* of the Weimar era

are unthinkable without the endeavors undertaken by the DGG, not least because influential members of the movement, like Martin Wagner, Bruno Taut, Ernst May and Hans Kampffmeyer, would go on to lead some of the most significant municipal housing programs of the twentieth century.<sup>5</sup>

The garden cities created by the DGG and their local affiliates remain vibrant communities with very low vacancy rates. In fact, garden cities such as those outside Karlsruhe and Mannheim continue to build new housing up to the present day. The housing does not necessarily adhere to the original principles of the movement, as much of the new construction takes the form of multi-story apartment buildings, but the desire to live in the communities remains strong enough to justify additional construction. In addition, municipalities have designated significant funds for restoration, and many of the garden cities have been lovingly returned to their original condition within the last twenty years. German garden cities have also gained renewed attention through initiatives such as the European Union's Capital of Culture program, which directed visitors to the 2010 capital, Essen, to wander through the nearby garden city of Margarethenhöhe.

Individual planning elements popularized by the garden city movement have had an even greater impact than the communities themselves. The most obvious is the emphasis on low-density dwellings, in particular the house or cottage and its associated garden. This model did not originate with the garden city but gained new influence with the increasing popularity of the movement, and one can trace a direct line between the garden city and the suburban ideal, especially in America. The decentralization of cities and the use of green belts to contain urban growth are two other elements of the garden city ideal that have had a lasting impact on

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<sup>5</sup> Wagner and Taut collaborated on many Weimar era *Siedlungen* in Berlin. May led the Frankfurt housing program of the same era, and the city of Vienna recruited Hans Kampffmeyer to lead its *Siedlungsamt* in 1919.

twentieth-century planning. As evidence of this, one only has to look at Robert Freestone's essay in *From Garden City to Green City: The Legacy of Ebenezer Howard*, in which he traces various permutations of the green belt, ranging from parkbelts to urban growth boundaries. However, the flexibility and lasting impact of the garden city idea is revealed most strongly by its continued influence despite drastically different urban conditions. At the end of the nineteenth century, when cities were overcrowded and dirty, the garden city was seen as a humane way of decentralizing populations and industry, of relieving some of the pressure on the metropolis. Now, in the twenty-first century when the pendulum has swung in the opposite direction, movements that incorporate many elements of the garden city ideal, such as New Urbanism, are viewed as viable models for reintroducing density into the undifferentiated mass of suburban sprawl. Few other urban planning models can lay claim to that kind of sustained influence.

## Chapter 1

### The Intersection of Art and Politics: The Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft and its Predecessors in Berlin

Bernhard Kampffmeyer and a group of like-minded reformers in Friedrichshagen, most notably the authors Julius and Heinrich Hart, founded the Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft in November of 1902. Almost immediately, they began publishing pamphlets elaborating Howard's ideas and arguing for the creation of garden cities in Germany. Due to lack of funds, they were able to disseminate only eleven pamphlets over the five years between the founding of the association and the publication of the German edition of Howard's book.<sup>1</sup> However, enough interest existed for the organization to begin producing its own periodical, entitled *Gartenstadt*, in 1906.<sup>2</sup> *Gartenstadt* faithfully recorded the progress of various local garden city organizations and reported news from far-flung realms relevant to the desired reforms of German cities. In addition to the more obvious topics of land reform and urban planning, the editors of the magazine focused on a wide range of themes from economics to health and hygiene to the role of women in society.

The founders of the DGG readily acknowledged their debt to Howard, describing England as the *Mutterland* of the movement in an early promotional pamphlet.<sup>3</sup> They adopted

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<sup>1</sup> Bernhard and the DGG worked hard to make a German translation of Howard's book available. When it finally appeared in 1907 under the title *Gartenstädte in Sicht* (Garden Cities in Sight), it included a foreword by Franz Oppenheimer, one of the founders of the DGG and an important theoretical predecessor of the group, and an essay by Bernhard Kampffmeyer, entitled "Zur Gartenstadt-Bewegung in Deutschland" (On the Garden City Movement in Germany).

<sup>2</sup> *Gartenstadt* was published as a standing supplement to Joseph August Lux's *Hohe Warte* from 1906 to 1908. The board of the DGG had editorial control of the supplement from the beginning. It was first published by the DGG as an independent periodical in 1909.

<sup>3</sup> Draft of a promotional pamphlet [Julius-Hart-Nachlaß, Signatur 440, Akademie der Künste]. His brother, Heinrich Hart, was the only member of the DGG to explicitly state that, while the garden city idea was an English import, there were similar proposals put forth by Theodor Fritsch and Franz Oppenheimer. He speculated that perhaps those variants were "not as much to the public's taste" and so did not achieve the influence of Howard's ideas [Heinrich

not only the central tenets of Howard's book, *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (1898), but also some of the tactics of the British movement, including the use of stock slide lectures to publicize the movement. The editors of *Gartenstadt* devoted as much attention to the advances of the English movement as they did to the German, and numerous books, articles and pamphlets written by the board of the DGG, as well as by independent architects and critics, reported on the intricacies of financing and planning Letchworth and Hampstead, which were held up as models for German achievements.<sup>4</sup> However, the Anglophilia evident among many educated Germans, which was colored by a certain amount of industrial and cultural competition, does not adequately explain what made the idea of the garden city so attractive to German social reformers and architects. The answer lies, instead, with the cultural climate of turn-of-the-century Berlin and the numerous, overlapping political and artistic reform movements to which the founders of the German movement belonged, many of which espoused goals very similar to Howard's.

As early as February of 1900, the political theorist Eduard Bernstein reviewed Ebenezer Howard's book for a German audience. Bernstein's favorable assessment of Howard's proposal, despite what he described as the presence of "reactionary ulterior motives," is not surprising.<sup>5</sup> In revising Marx's theory of socialism, Bernstein had jettisoned the overthrow of capitalism as a prerequisite for the development of a socialist society. Instead, he asserted that socialists could work within the existing structures of capitalism and parliamentary democracy to achieve social

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Hart, "Korrespondenz der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft," No. 6 (27 February 1904) [MA S2.263, Magistratsakten, Bd. II, No. 48, Institut für Stadtgeschichte (Frankfurt)].

<sup>4</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer's pamphlet entitled *Die Vermählung von Stadt und Land: Ein soziales Experiment* (The Marriage of City and Country: A Social Experiment) also known as *Die Englische Gartenstadtbewegung* (Flugschrift No. 2), published in 1903, is just one of the many examples that could be provided.

<sup>5</sup> Eduard Bernstein, "Neue Vorschläge zur Reform der Volkswohnungen in England" in *Im Grünen wohnen – im Blauen planen: Ein Lesebuch zur Gartenstadt*, eds. F. Bollerey, G. Fehl and K. Hartmann (Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1990), 98. First published in *Die Neue Zeit* 18, no. 2 (1900): 522-530.

justice and economic and political equality.<sup>6</sup> Howard, too, disdained both doctrinaire capitalism and the compulsory centralized socialism of the Marxists. He saw the underlying political and economic system of the garden city as constituting a middle ground, combining the greatest possible individual freedom with the greater good of the community. The freedoms and reforms that were not yet possible for society as a whole could be instituted on a smaller scale in these new communities. However, in 1900, garden cities such as Letchworth had not progressed beyond the planning stages, so Bernstein concluded his review by stating that the garden city movement possessed great potential, but that he would reserve judgment until the fledgling endeavors had a chance to develop fully.<sup>7</sup>

Bernstein's assessment of Howard's ideas must have resonated with the brothers Paul and Bernhard Kampffmeyer, who played an integral role in the founding of the DGG. The ability to achieve socialist goals without relying on politicians or the passing of legislation would have been especially appealing. In the waning decade of the nineteenth century, the brothers had grown disillusioned with the infighting between the radical elements of the Social Democrats and more conservative factions, such as the labor unions. They aligned themselves, instead, with a group founded in 1891 called the Verein Unabhängiger Sozialisten (Association of Independent Socialists), whose policies bordered on anarchism.<sup>8</sup> These young men wanted to provide socialist solutions to society's ills, especially the misery of the working class, but found it difficult to achieve these aims within the realm of party politics. Like many other reform-minded individuals at this time, they increasingly embraced aesthetic solutions to political and

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<sup>6</sup> Carl E. Schorske, *German Social Democracy 1905-1917: The Development of the Great Schism* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 16-19.

<sup>7</sup> Bernstein, 98.

<sup>8</sup> Rolf Kauffeldt and Gertrude Cepl-Kaufmann, *Berlin-Friedrichshagen: Literaturhauptstadt um die Jahrhundertwende* (München: Klaus Boer Verlag, 1994), 194.

economic problems.<sup>9</sup> Paul Kampffmeyer eventually made his peace with the mainstream party and spent much of his life writing about various facets of the workers' movement. According to a family history written in the 1930s, he helped to develop and popularize revisionist socialism through books such as *Wandlungen in der Theorie und Taktik der Sozialdemokratie* (Transformations in the Theory and Tactics of Social Democracy, 1904).<sup>10</sup> He authored numerous analyses of Social Democracy in Germany, as well as a *Festschrift* entitled *Eduard Bernstein und der sozialistische Aufbau* (Eduard Bernstein and Socialist Development) documenting Bernstein's lifelong contributions to the party. His influence on the DGG was minimal after the founding of the organization. His brother Bernhard, on the other hand, remained an anarchist and devoted his life to realizing the goals of the garden city movement.

The history of the DGG cannot be separated from that of indigenous cultural reform initiatives, in particular the Neue Gemeinschaft (New Community), which was itself an outgrowth of an earlier, more informal, organization, the Friedrichshagener Dichterkreis (Friedrichshagen Circle of Poets), founded in 1890 and consisting of a group of literary figures and intellectuals (including the brothers Paul and Bernhard Kampffmeyer) who desired an escape from the misery of the city and a concomitant return to nature. These three interrelated organizations provide an excellent example of a general trend within German culture: the rise of "voluntary associations." Associations existed for nearly every facet of German life, from business concerns to intellectual, artistic and religious movements to social reform. In fact, by 1870, half of German citizens claimed membership in a "voluntary association." David Blackbourn argued that these organizations strove to improve society, and hence their activities

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<sup>9</sup> Matthew Jefferies, *Imperial Culture in Germany, 1871-1918* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 192.

<sup>10</sup> Paul Kampffmeyer, *Blutsverwandte deutsche Familien im Wandel der Jahrhunderte* (Greifswald: Dallmeyer, 1939), 146.



and publications were imbued with a heavily moralistic character.<sup>11</sup> Education formed an important component of their work and many – like the DGG – believed that their practical activities must be preceded by a barrage of propaganda to convince others of the rectitude of their proposals. In his earliest pamphlet for the DGG, Bernhard Kampffmeyer stated:

At the moment, the DGG considers itself essentially to be an association for propaganda and study. We hope to be able to implement the concept of the garden city after a period of diligent propaganda, conscientious study and preparatory work.<sup>12</sup>

Fritz Stern attributed the driving need for social reform embodied in these moralistic voluntary associations to the changes wrought by the processes of modernization with its accompanying industrialization and urbanization.<sup>13</sup> In his book, *The Politics of Cultural Despair*, he traced the rise of a conservative Germanic ideology through the works of three cultural critics: Paul de Lagarde, Julius Langbehn and Arthur Moeller van den Bruck. Stern simultaneously viewed these authors as generators of and reflections of the “cultural despair” felt by many Germans around the turn of the twentieth century. These men – and the many readers who kept their books in print – lamented the impersonal nature of modern life. They saw dirty, crowded cities filled with miserably impoverished workers replacing the traditional mode of life in small villages. They criticized the self-indulgent *bürgers*’ superficial veneer of culture and viewed their pursuit of material wealth as evidence of the growing secularization and

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<sup>11</sup> David Blackbourn, *History of Germany 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century* (Malden, MA.: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 210.

<sup>12</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, *Die Vermählung von Stadt und Land*, Flugschrift No. 2 (Berlin-Schlachtensee: Verlag der Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, 1903), 24. “Die Gartenstadtgesellschaft betrachtet sich augenblicklich im wesentlichen als eine Propaganda- und Studiengesellschaft.... Die Gesellschaft hofft nach einer Zeit eifriger Propaganda, gewissenhaften Studiums sowie vorbereitender Arbeit an die Ausführung der Idee der Gartenstadt gehen zu können.”

<sup>13</sup> Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), xi, xxvii.

impoverishment of German culture.<sup>14</sup> While Stern ultimately linked these ideas to the rise of a conservative nationalistic ideology, he acknowledged that “the nostalgia of the right had as its counterpart the utopias of the left.”<sup>15</sup> The main difference being that the critics on the right longed to recapture the glory of a romanticized German past, reviving traditional community life and class relations, while those on the left agitated for the creation of a new and more equal society out of the chaos of modern industrial Germany.

The details of the plans for cultural renewal often bore a striking resemblance to each other. One only has to compare Theodor Fritsch’s proposal for *Die Stadt der Zukunft* (City of the Future), published in 1896, with Ebenezer Howard’s garden city to find an example (Figures 3-4). Both proposals called for communal ownership of property and imagined the city as a circular entity with zones devoted to public buildings, housing and factories, although Howard insisted that his was only a schematic diagram.<sup>16</sup> Fritsch repeatedly used the words rationality, regularity, order and power to describe a city that was rigidly hierarchical and separated along class lines. The wealthier inhabitants were to live in a villa quarter near the public buildings and businesses at the center of town, whereas the workers were to be relegated to the outskirts near the factories.<sup>17</sup> Fritsch’s most objectionable views, in particular his virulent anti-Semitism were well-hidden, with the exception of a reference to an earlier work, *Zwei Grundübel, Bodenwucher*

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 32.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 55. The Friedrichshagener Dichterkreis and the Neue Gemeinschaft represented examples of Stern’s “utopias” on the left, although the members would have taken issue with the implied characterization of their endeavors as naïve or impractical.

<sup>16</sup> A later publication by Fritsch entitled *Die neue Gemeinde (Garten-Stadt)*, or *The New Community (Garden City)*, and intended as a corollary to *Die Stadt der Zukunft*, even calls for consumer and producer cooperatives, as did Howard [Fritsch, *Die neue Gemeinde (Garten-Stadt)*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Leipzig: Verlag von Theod. Fritsch, 1903), 9].

<sup>17</sup> Theodor Fritsch, *Die Stadt der Zukunft*, reprinted in Dirk Schubert, ed. *Die Gartenstadtidee zwischen reaktionärer Ideologie und pragmatischer Umsetzung: Theodor Fritschs völkische Version der Gartenstadt*, Dortmunder Beiträge zur Raumplanung, Blaue Reihe 117 (Dortmund: IRPUD, 2004), 115-116.

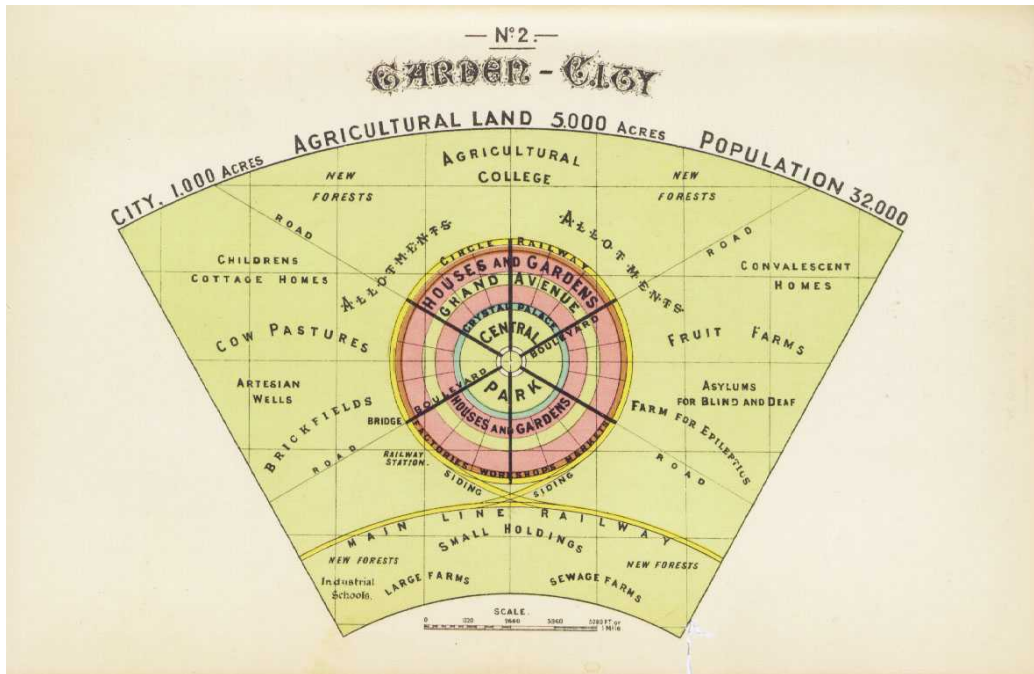


Figure 3. Diagram of Ebenezer Howard's Garden-City.

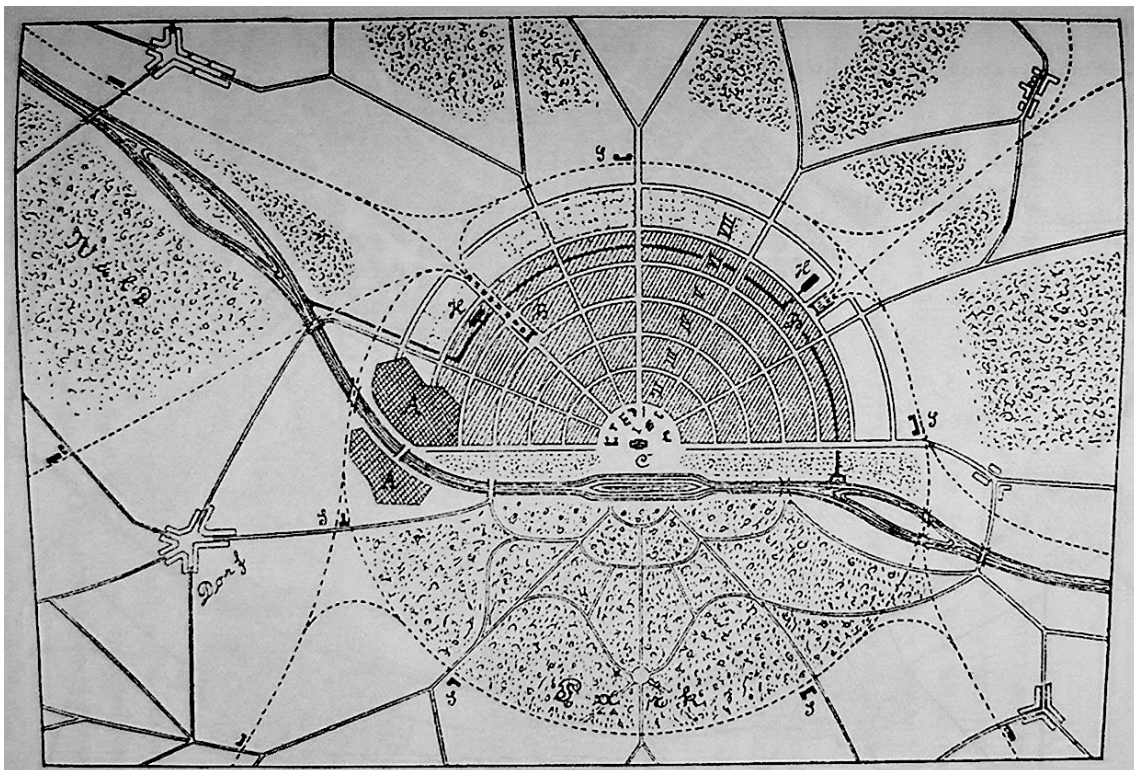


Figure 4. Theodor Fritsch's *Stadt der Zukunft*.

*und Börse* (Two Fundamental Evils, Land Usury and Stock Exchanges), published in 1894, which blamed Jewish controlled financial capital for land speculation and the associated problems of the city.<sup>18</sup>

Early in its history, the DGG struggled to deal with Fritsch's contribution to the German garden city movement. In a lecture given to the first meeting of the DGG in Berlin and later published as a pamphlet, Bernhard Kampffmeyer acknowledged that Fritsch had published *Die Stadt der Zukunft* first but considered Howard's book to be more comprehensive and to incorporate larger social considerations. He concluded:

I consider the English book to be original. One sees in the correspondence between the two proposals, however, to what degree the idea was in the air and how great its importance is.<sup>19</sup>

Fritsch's ideas are only mentioned one other time in the publications of the DGG, perhaps due to the board members discomfort with Fritsch's reactionary ideology. In 1904, less than a year after Kampffmeyer's lecture, Heinrich Hart published an essay that identified the garden city as an English import, but one that corresponded to German ideas already in circulation. He identified Fritsch's proposal for a model city, along with the Siedlungsgenossenschaft Freiland (settlement cooperative Open Land), begun by the political economist Franz Oppenheimer, as inspiration for the DGG's own activities even as he acknowledged that the German variants had

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<sup>18</sup> Schubert, *Die Gartenstadtidee zwischen reaktionärer Ideologie und pragmatische Umsetzung*, 15. Many reformers blamed land speculators for the problems of the city. Most of them, however, saw speculation as a society-wide problem, whose practice was not limited to a particular religious group.

<sup>19</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, *Die Vermählung von Stadt und Land*, 5. "Erst zwei Jahre später gab Ebenezer Howard ein Buch heraus, das im Wesen dieselben Vorschläge enthält, jedoch umfangreicher ist, mehr ins Detail geht und mir auch grössere soziale Gesichtspunkte zu enthalten scheint—Ich halte das englische Buch für Original [sic]. — Man sieht aus der Übereinstimmung, wie sehr die Idee in der Luft liegt, wie gross ihre Bedeutung ist."

not gained the audience that Howard's more recent book had acquired in a comparatively short period of time.<sup>20</sup>

Hart was right to assert that the DGG owed much to its German forebears, though the Friedrichshagener Dichterkreis and the Neue Gemeinschaft had as much, or more, influence than the model communities singled out by Hart. At first glance, these literary organizations seem to have very little connection to the German garden city movement beyond the fact that a significant overlap existed among the main figures. However, a closer look at their activities and ideologies reveals a lasting legacy. The members of all three of these organizations viewed art, whether literature or architecture, as intertwined with politics and believed that exposing the workers and less-educated members of society to new aesthetic principles would elevate them to a plane where other social change would be sure to follow. It was simply the emphasis that changed over time, from socially enlightened literary production to the creation of a physical space that could foster the desired cultural reform.

The Friedrichshagener Dichterkreis consisted of a group of poets, playwrights, and activists who, beginning around 1890, convened in Friedrichshagen, a quiet hamlet located directly on the shores of the Müggelsee on the outskirts of Berlin, to write and converse about literature and politics. Among the important writers in the group were Wilhelm Bölsche, Bruno Wille, Gerhart Hauptmann and Richard Dehmel.<sup>21</sup> Other noteworthy participants included the anarchist Gustav Landauer, and the brothers Julius and Heinrich Hart, whose criticism proved

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<sup>20</sup> Heinrich Hart, "Korrespondenz der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft," No. 6. (27 February 1904) [Magistratsakten Bd. II, MA S2.263, Institut für Stadtgeschichte (Frankfurt)].

<sup>21</sup> Many of these men first became acquainted with each other through *Durch*, a literary association which frequently met at Café Alexanderplatz to discuss contemporary poetry and drama, and through the Ethischer Club (Ethical Club), founded by Bruno Wille, which focused on social problems more generally and whose membership was expanded to include political economists such as Franz Oppenheimer [Bruno Wille, *Aus Traum und Kampf: Mein 60-jähriges Leben* (Berlin: Kultur-Verlag, 1920), 23-25].

more important than their literary endeavors.<sup>22</sup> The Harts hosted literary salons in their homes in Friedrichshagen, as did Bernhard Kampffmeyer in the house on Ahornallee, which he inherited in the summer of 1890 and which was shared by Wilhelm Bölsche and his wife.<sup>23</sup> The literary output of the Dichterkreis has since been labeled naturalism, and the writers were heavily influenced both by the rise of international socialism and by the positivism of much contemporary scientific thought. These influences manifested themselves in the subject matter – focusing on contemporary working-class society – and in meticulous attempts to represent the characters and their conditions.<sup>24</sup> As the literary historian J. G. Robertson stated, “man has become an object that can be observed and studied” scientifically and whose life is affected by things outside of his control such as social class and genetics. For example, in *Die Weber*, Gerhart Hauptmann’s play about the 1844 uprising by Silesian weavers, the characters speak in their native dialect, and the dialogue accurately reflects the social class and educational level of the various characters.<sup>25</sup>

Simply representing the lives of the working class as worthy of artistic attention constituted a revolutionary act, but many members of the Dichterkreis also aimed to improve the living conditions of those workers through their art. Frustrated with the elitism of cultural productions in Berlin, Bruno Wille, an important member of the Friedrichshagen circle, founded the Freie Volksbühne (Free People’s Stage) in 1890. Wille, Bölsche, Julius Hart, the Kampffmeyer brothers and a host of others rented a theater in Berlin, where they produced

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<sup>22</sup> The Hart brothers tirelessly advocated for modern literary trends, most particularly naturalism, in the various short-lived magazines they founded, as well as in more established magazines and literary journals [Siefried Mews, “Naturalism” *A Concise History of German Literature to 1900*, ed. Kim Vivian. (Columbia, SC.: Camden House, Inc. 1992), 293].

<sup>23</sup> Kauffeldt and Cepl-Kaufmann, 92.

<sup>24</sup> Mews, 290.

<sup>25</sup> J. G. Robertson, *A History of German Literature* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1970), 550, 553.

concerts, poetry recitations, lectures and plays – including those written by their cohorts in the Dichterkreis – on Sunday afternoons.<sup>26</sup> They charged a relatively low entrance fee (50 Pfennig) so that the workers could afford to attend. Wille stated in his autobiography that:

...the theater should be a source of high artistic enjoyment, moral elevation and robust stimulus for the contemplation of the great questions of our time.... Also, art should be accessible to all people. My call found enthusiastic support among the circles of the workers' elite.<sup>27</sup>

Wille was aware that their efforts might appear patronizing, but he rejected the idea that the Freie Volksbühne's programming was an imposition from above; instead he viewed these endeavors as an opportunity for the public to participate actively in its own education. In Wille's own words:

Its soul is the education of the people through art, whereby the word "education" is considered not in the sense of a patronizing presentation "from above," but rather as self-education with the participation of those who revitalize themselves by communicating with others.<sup>28</sup>

The Freie Volksbühne also held a number of large outdoor festivals or Großen Sommer Waldfest, the first of which occurred on August 9<sup>th</sup>, 1891. These festivals drew upwards of 8,000 people and included choral concerts and tableaux staged on boats in the lake, for which

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<sup>26</sup> The degree to which politics and art were intertwined is made evident by the founding of the splinter group, the Neue Freie Volksbühne (New People's Free Stage). Many of the members of the Friedrichshagener Dichterkreis and the Freie Volksbühne were also members of the Verein Unabhängiger Sozialisten, a group of men dissatisfied with the path taken by the main body of the SPD. They split from the SPD in 1891 and began agitating for the founding of cooperatives and for the spiritual and intellectual awakening of the masses (through endeavors such as those of the *Volksbühne*). In 1892, many of these same men, lead by Bernhard Kampffmeyer, Wilhelm Bölsche and Julius Hart, stormed out of a meeting of the Freie Volksbühne in protest over the direction the organization was headed. Julius Türk and Franz Mehring, board members and opponents of the Unabhängige Sozialisten and naturalism, rejected modernist theater and strove to stage social-democratic works, which presented the worker in a more heroic manner. The protestors eventually founded the Neue Freie Volksbühne to continue their artistic and educational endeavors without the interference of the SPD [Kauffeldt and Cepl-Kaufmann, 188-202 and 209-214].

<sup>27</sup> Wille, *Aus Traum u. Kampf*, 30. "...das Theater solle eine Quelle hohen Kunstgenusses, sittlicher Erhebung und kräftiger Anregung zum Nachdenken über die großen Zeitfragen sein.... Auch solle die Kunst dem ganzen Volke zukommen. Begeisterte Aufnahme fand mein Ruf in den Kreisen der Arbeiterelite."

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 29. "Ihre Seele ist Erziehung des Volkes durch die Kunst, wobei das Wort „Erziehung“ nicht im Sinne einer gönnerhaften Darreichung „von oben“ gilt, sondern als Selbsterziehung unter Beteiligung derer, die sich selber erquicken, indem sie Anderen mitteilen. ” See also Kauffeldt and Cepl-Kaufmann, 204.

many members of the board dressed as mythological figures (Figure 5).<sup>29</sup> This tradition of festivals and cultural education was among the most important legacies of the Dichterkreis for the Neue Gemeinschaft and the DGG.

The Neue Gemeinschaft was the brainchild of the Hart brothers, although Bernhard Kampffmeyer and Gustav Landauer were early and enthusiastic participants. Their goal was to create a settlement in which they could live out their aesthetic and social ideals. They founded the Neue Gemeinschaft on February 17, 1900 and met in bars and a rented house in Wilmersdorf until March of 1902, when they were able to attempt truly communal living through the largesse of the sympathetic financier, Securius. Securius offered them a former children's sanitarium – consisting of a main building with thirty rooms, an outbuilding, and a large garden – at a considerably reduced rent.<sup>30</sup> Eventually, the Neue Gemeinschaft intended to build additional small houses on the communally-owned property and to create a self-sufficient settlement by producing their own food and establishing consumer and producer cooperatives.<sup>31</sup> Like many other turn-of-the-century communal experiments, they were chronically short of money as well as the practical skills needed to make their endeavor successful.

They did, however, stage a wide variety of cultural programs. Even a cursory search of the archives of Julius Hart at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin and the *Stadtbibliothek* in Dortmund reveals numerous advertisements for the festivals of the Neue Gemeinschaft. In 1903, for example, the organization staged monthly celebrations whose programming of music, recitations and lectures revolved around romantic themes such as beauty, death or the summer

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<sup>29</sup> Kauffeldt and Cepl-Kaufmann, 208 and 316-317.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, 316-17. See also Adolf Damaschke, *Aus meinem Leben* (Leipzig: Grethlein & Co, 1924), 243 and “Unsere erste Landansiedlung,” *Die Neue Gemeinschaft: Mitteilungen für Mitglieder und Gleichgesinnte* 2, no. 1 (1902): 33.

<sup>31</sup> Handwritten note [Margarete-Hart-Sammlung, Signatur 457, Akademie der Künste] and “Von unserer Lebensgemeinschaft in Schlachtensee,” *Die Neue Gemeinschaft* 2, no. 6 & 7 (1902): 172-73.





Figure 5. Großen Sommer Walfest. Tableau of mythological figures staged by the Freie Volksbühne.

Einladung zum Ausflug  
 DER NEUEN GEMEINSCHAFT  
 nach Friedrichshagen am Mittwoch,  
 d. 6. Juni 1900. — Abfahrt von  
 Berlin: Zoolog. Garten 3<sup>15</sup>, Friedrichs-  
 Str. 328, Alexanderpl. 3<sup>15</sup>, Schloß-  
 Park 3<sup>15</sup>. — Ankunft in Friedrichshagen  
 4<sup>15</sup>. — 1/2 Gemeindefestlicher  
 Kaffee im „Wilhelmsbad“, Seesfr.  
 5/2: Rundfahrt auf d. Müggelsee.  
 6: Laudung am Müggelseelobenden  
 Nachzügler erreichen dieses Lokal  
 aureto Überfahrt, mit der Fälor.  
 U. a. Kurze Vorträge - Künstleri-  
 sches - Mitteilungen - Gäste will-  
 kommen - H. u. F. Hart.  
 An allen Orten Besondere  
 in Sälen und Freilu.  
 Letzer Zug nach Berlin: 11<sup>55</sup>.



Figure 6. Invitation to Spring Festival, 1900 (left) and poster advertising the first festival of the Neue Gemeinschaft (right).

solstice (Figure 6). Like the Freie Volksbühne, the Neue Gemeinschaft held these events in a spirit of inclusiveness. Members were asked to contribute a monthly fee of one Mark to help cover rent and the outfitting of the communal rooms, although individuals could also purchase tickets to single festivals for one Mark. In addition, the organizing committee pledged to provide free entrance to those who could not afford the fee. These people needed only to identify themselves as “friends” of the ideals and endeavors of the organization to participate.<sup>32</sup> The Neue Gemeinschaft did not want to exclude willing participants because they viewed these expansive festivals as a way both to foster a feeling of community and to activate the creative power of those involved.<sup>33</sup> Some men and women even offered weekly programs for children of members in an attempt to expose them to the ideas of the larger group and to experiment with new pedagogical methods of practical artistic instruction.<sup>34</sup>

These practices emerged from the Neue Gemeinschaft’s ideas about personal spiritual development and reflected a “paradigm shift” that had occurred over the course of the 1890s, a shift away from the scientific objectivity of naturalism towards a worldview that embraced mysticism and celebrated the works of Tolstoy and Nietzsche.<sup>35</sup> Numerous articles in the organization’s eponymous magazine as well as many of their pamphlets and lectures speak of finding a harmonious balance between the self and the universe, of realizing the creative and spiritual power in the largest and smallest aspects of life and of acknowledging that all things contain unity and multiplicity. They expressed this sentiment in an appropriately aphoristic

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<sup>32</sup> “Aufruf” and a mass-mailing to members [Julius-Hart-Nachlaß , Signatur 283 and 270, Akademie der Künste].

<sup>33</sup> Heinrich Hart, “Unsere Erste Ansiedlung,” [pamphlet from the Julius-Hart-Nachlaß, Signatur 287, Akademie der Künste].

<sup>34</sup> Julius Hart Nachlaß, Signatur 2816, Stadt- und Landesbibliothek Dortmund.

<sup>35</sup> Kauffeldt and Cepl-Kaufmann, 98, 112.

form, stating: "...the universe as macrocosm, the ego as microcosm are in essence identical."<sup>36</sup>

This focus on reaching a higher level of spiritual maturity had its basis in the Nietzschean idea of the *Übermensch*, although the Neue Gemeinschaft always maintained a sense of responsibility toward the larger society. They aimed to provide a gathering point for enlightened people, who could then provide a model for the rest of mankind, and refused to allow the fact that the masses were not yet ready for this development to deter them.<sup>37</sup>

The Neue Gemeinschaft viewed their festivals as tools to help those involved reach a higher level of spiritual understanding. They were meant to provide modern man with a "substitute for the old religious celebrations," a space in which the feelings and ideals of this new type of man would reach their highest fulfillment.<sup>38</sup> As such, they echoed the corresponding impulse away from secular positivism that Fritz Stern saw in the conservative critics of German society such as Paul de Lagarde, who found fault with both Protestantism and Catholicism but viewed religion as "rooted in man's ineradicable desire for a link with God and the supernatural" and as an attempt to experience the "sublime and the inexplicable."<sup>39</sup> Unlike the conservative critics, however, the ideology of the Neue Gemeinschaft embraced the knowledge obtained through both secular scientific analysis and mysticism and posited that everything contained its opposite so no true contradictions could exist.<sup>40</sup> They asserted this commitment by flying

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<sup>36</sup> "Von Neuer Gemeinschaft," *Die Neue Gemeinschaft* 2, no. 3 (1902): 97. "...das All als Makrokosmos, das Ich als Mikrokosmos sind im Wesen identisch."

<sup>37</sup> This stance reveals an elitist viewpoint at odds with their insistence on equality within the community. "Die Neue Gemeinschaft," *Die Neue Gemeinschaft* 2, no. 1 (1902): 5-6 and Gustav Landauer, "Durch Absonderung zur Gemeinschaft" in *Das Reich der Erfüllung: Flugschriften zur Begründung einer neuen Weltanschauung*, no 2 (Leipzig: Eugen Diderichs, 1901), 46.

<sup>38</sup> Pamphlet [Julius-Hart-Nachlaß, Signatur 270, Akademie der Künste].

<sup>39</sup> Stern, 39.

<sup>40</sup> "Unsre Gemeinschaft" in *Das Reich der Erfüllung: Flugschriften zur Begründung einer neuen Weltanschauung*, no. 1 (Leipzig: Eugen Diderichs, 1900), 93 and "Krieg und Friede," *Die Neue Gemeinschaft* 2, no. 1 (1902): 21.

colored flags at their inauguration festivities, with a green banner symbolizing the positivistic worldview and a purple one symbolizing the metaphysical.<sup>41</sup>

The DGG represented a further outgrowth of the efforts of the Neue Gemeinschaft to create a self-sufficient community on the outskirts of Berlin, though this time it was to take the form of a whole city rather than a commune. A number of the members of the Neue Gemeinschaft, including the brothers Hart, Bernhard Kampffmeyer, Franz Oppenheimer, Adolf Otto, and the painter Fidus, founded the Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft in the fall of 1902. They first outlined the goals of the organization in an article in *Die Neue Gemeinschaft*.<sup>42</sup> The DGG soon turned away from the mysticism of their predecessors, focusing instead on the practical considerations of creating new urban centers, such as land acquisition and house design. However, the founders of the national organization (and many of the founders of individual garden cities) continued to emphasize the educational component of the Neue Gemeinschaft's mission, utilizing festivals and aesthetic instruction to help achieve their goals of community building. In fact, in one of the earliest published pamphlets, Heinrich Hart explicitly extended this goal of the Neue Gemeinschaft into the newly founded Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft. He stated:

Perhaps we can confer upon the planned model city a special power of attraction and make it a German Olympia, the epicenter of national pageants incorporating drama, music and gymnastics.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> "Von unserm Frühlingsfest," *Die Neue Gemeinschaft* 2, no. 4 & 5 (1902): 161.

<sup>42</sup> "Gartenstädte," *Die Neue Gemeinschaft* 2, no. 6 & 7 (1902). The text of this article is identical to that of the first *Flugschrift* of the DGG, published in 1903.

<sup>43</sup> Heinrich Hart, foreword to "Die Vermählung von Stadt und Land: Ein soziales Experiment." (Berlin: Verlag der Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, 1903), 4. "Vielleicht könnten wir der geplanten Musterstadt eine besondere Anziehungskraft dadurch verleihen, dass wir sie zum Mittelpunkt nationaler Festspiele, dramatischer, musikalischer, gymnastischer Festspiele machten, zu einem deutschen Olympia." One cannot help but think of Darmstadt in this context, although the DGG did not acknowledge any influence from that quarter.

Decades later, the architectural historian Julius Posener underscored the close relationship between the two organizations when he called Gartenstadt Falkenberg the “spiritual child” of the Neue Gemeinschaft.<sup>44</sup> In fact, like the above-mentioned festivals in Friedrichshagen, the Falkenberger Volksfeste (folk festivals) attracted considerable public attention and were attended by thousands of Berliners who did not live in the garden city.<sup>45</sup> They included processions, musical and dramatic performances and, during the 1920s, were produced in collaboration with the Freie Volksbühne, admittedly no longer organized by Wille and his cohort. Falkenberg even had its own improvisatory dance troop directed by Agathe Otto, the daughter of Adolf Otto, who was one of the founders of both the DGG and Gartenstadt Falkenberg.<sup>46</sup> Falkenberg’s festivals were perhaps the most well-known, but other garden cities such as Gartenstadt Karlsruhe and Hellerau held festivals of their own (Figures 7-8). In 1910, Gerhart Hauptmann, a familiar name from the Friedrichshagen years, even promised to write a theatrical piece for performance upon the opening of Hellerau to the public as an architectural and applied arts exhibition.<sup>47</sup> In addition, Tessenow’s famous *Festspielhaus*, which for a period housed Dalcroze’s school for rhythmic gymnastics, represented part of this larger trend to incorporate artistic education and production into the daily life of the garden cities. Marco De Michelis has chronicled the history of the Dalcroze Institut für rhythmische Gymnastik and revealed a striking similarity with the ideas of the DGG concerning the centrality of aesthetic

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<sup>44</sup> Julius Posener, “Die deutsche Gartenstadtbewegung” in *Berlin auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur* (München: Prestel-Verlag, 1979), 272. Gartenstadt Falkenberg is located in the district of Alt-Glienicke, in southeastern Berlin.

<sup>45</sup> Renate Amann, *Adolf Otto: Wohn- und Sozialreformer, Eine Biografie im Spiegel der Zeit* (Berlin: edition arkadien, 2001), 29.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, 30.

<sup>47</sup> Letter from the Deutsche Werkstätten für Handwerkskunst to the Finanzdeputation des Sächsischen Landtages, 22 April 1908 [Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft Hellerau mbH Archiv, Bestandssignatur 9.1.36, Akte 27, Stadtarchiv Dresden].



Figure 7. Festival in Ostendorf Platz, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, with a symbolic representation of the development of the garden city from 1912-1922.



Figure 8. Festivities in connection with the Kongress für Internationales Wohnungswesen (International Congress for Housing), Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, September 23, 1926.

education for the health of the community, despite Hellerau's independence from the main garden city association.<sup>48</sup>

This independence did not prevent significant overlap among the ideas and the prominent figures associated with Hellerau and the DGG. Obviously, Hellerau's founders, Karl Schmidt and Wolf Dohrn, would have read *Gartenstadt*. They also would have been exposed to ideas concerning the socially transformative role of art through Joseph August Lux and Ferdinand Avenarius and through their relationships with designers like Richard Riemerschmid.<sup>49</sup>

Avenarius edited *Kunstwart und Kulturwart*, and Lux founded the magazine *Hohe Warte*. Both magazines published articles on contemporary debates in aesthetics by such illustrious names as Alfred Lichtwark, Hermann Muthesius and Paul Schultze-Naumburg. According to Mark Jarzombek, Lux "sought a complex fusion between the emerging conservative and modernist positions," which aligned him both politically and aesthetically with many members of the DGG.<sup>50</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that *Gartenstadt* first appeared as a supplement to Lux's *Hohe Warte* or that articles by many of the authors mentioned above appeared in its pages.

Schmidt evidently thought enough of Lux to invite him to Dresden in 1907 to run the preparatory

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<sup>48</sup> Hellerau's progress was faithfully reported in *Gartenstadt*, but Hellerau was truly an independent endeavor. According to Karl Schmidt's grandson, Christoph de Rentiis, Schmidt met with the Kampffmeyers but decided that, although they were good propagandists, they were not practical-minded enough to collaborate on the planning of Hellerau [Christoph De Rentiis, conversation with author, Dresden, Germany, 12 March 2007]. There was some contact between the DGG and Hellerau, however, as the board member Adolf Otto seriously considered moving to Dresden to collaborate with Schmidt on the Dresdner Werkstätten [Adolf Otto to Hermann Muthesius, 3 January 1905, Sammlung Deutscher Werkbund, Nachlaß Hermann Muthesius, Werkbundarchiv Berlin]. "Ich teile Ihnen das nur mit, damit Sie sehen, dass die Sache dort interessiert. – Daß ich vielleicht in die Dresdner Werkstätten als Mitarbeiter eintrete, hat Ihnen Herr Schmidt wohl schon gesagt. Ich gehe sogar vielleicht nach Zschopau zur Leitung der Spielwarenabteilung oder nach Dresden, falls die Ansiedlung möglich wird, und würde dies herzlich gerne thun, trotzdem ich hier manches im Stich lasse."

<sup>49</sup> Marco De Michelis, "Modernity and Reform, Heinrich Tessenow and the Institut Dalcroze at Hellerau," *Perspecta* 26 (1990), 150-51. Lux and Avenarius, along with many of the most important figures at Hellerau, were also involved with the founding of the Werkbund, showing just how closely the DGG and the advent of modernism were intertwined.

<sup>50</sup> Mark Jarzombek, "Joseph August Lux: Werkbund Promoter, Historian of a Lost Modernity," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, no. 2 (June 2004): 202.

school for his factory, then called the Dresdener Werkstätte für Handwerkskunst (Dresden Workshop for Handicraft), although differences of opinion between Lux and Muthesius caused the association to be rather short-lived.<sup>51</sup>

Participating in this general trend, Hans Kampffmeyer also emphasized the educational component of the garden city in his propaganda for the DGG. *Gartenstadt und Ästhetische Kultur* (Garden City and Aesthetic Culture) and *Die Gartenstadtbewegung* (The Garden City Movement), published in 1904 and 1909 respectively, included references to both English and German precedents for the intended cultural programs. In particular, Kampffmeyer wrote of Ruskin House in Bournville and Mrs. Howard-Memorial-Hall in Letchworth as community centers, which incorporated libraries and reading halls as well as rooms of assembly used for lectures (on both scientific and artistic themes), performances and exhibitions of exemplary pieces of handcrafts and applied art. The young women of the community received lessons in handcrafts in these buildings, evidence of yet more overlap with the ideas of the Neue Gemeinschaft and the DGG, who intended to provide both art instruction and exhibition space for their members.<sup>52</sup> These buildings supplied a model for the *Volks-* or *Gemeinhaus* in the garden city, an oft-planned, if rarely-built, architectural expression of the cohesion of the community. Kampffmeyer also repeatedly held up the Freie Volksbühne and its efforts to provide low-cost programs to wide swathes of the population as a model for similar activity in German garden cities.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid, 204.

<sup>52</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, *Gartenstadt und Ästhetische Kultur*, Flugschrift No. 6 (Berlin-Schlachtensee: Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, 1904), 10-14 and *Die Gartenstadtbewegung* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1913), 19 and pamphlet from the Julius-Hart-Nachlaß, Signatur 278, Akademie der Künste.

<sup>53</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, “Die Gartenstadt in Ihrer Kulturellen und Wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung” *Gartenstadt Nummer*, supplement to *Hohe Warte* 3 (1906-1907): 114.



It is perhaps not surprising that Hans Kampffmeyer, who once dreamed of opening a Reform Art School with his friend Erich Stephani, placed so much emphasis on education.<sup>54</sup> The founders of the local garden city cooperatives also took this educational component seriously. Gartenstadt Stockfeld, for example, planned a *Volksbibliothek* (People's Library) with a reading room and hoped to offer instruction in gardening, sewing, cooking and household management.<sup>55</sup> Similarly, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe established a small lending library and provided communal garden tools for use by the inhabitants, though they did not succeed in constructing a grand building to accommodate these services.<sup>56</sup> As was so often the case, Karl Schmidt with his ready funds was able to implement cultural programs at Hellerau on a grander scale than was possible in other garden cities. He provided a generous library for the workers at his furniture factory, whose name had been changed to the *Deutsche Werkstätten für Handwerkskunst* (German Workshops for Handicraft), a practice he initiated before the factory relocated to Hellerau.<sup>57</sup> Beginning in 1910, he also opened a number of houses to the public (for a fee of 20 *Pfennig*) as a standing exhibition to educate visitors about the proper method of furnishing workers' dwellings. The houses were built by Richard Riemerschmid and outfitted with furniture and appliances designed by Riemerschmid, Adelbert Niemeyer and Karl Pietsch.<sup>58</sup> Even today, the community centers in many garden cities house exhibitions and are used for lectures and board meetings.

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<sup>54</sup> Kristiana Hartmann, "Wir wollen andere Lebenswelten" in *Hans Kampffmeyer: Planungsdezernent in Frankfurt am Main 1956-1972*, ed. Martin Wentz (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2000), 24.

<sup>55</sup> "Straßburg-Stockfeld," *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 1 (January 1910): 2.

<sup>56</sup> "Rundschau, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe," *Gartenstadt* 8, no. 1 (January 1914): 15.

<sup>57</sup> Werkm. Müller, *Karl Schmidt-Hellerau* [Deutsche Werkstätten Hellerau Archiv, Signatur 11764, no. 3152, Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden].

<sup>58</sup> "Führer durch die Gartenstadt Hellerau" (1911) and Karl Schmidt to Richard Riemerschmid, 28 February, 1910 [Deutsche Werkstätten Hellerau Archiv, Signatur 11764, no. 1663 and 1555, Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden]. Similar temporary exhibitions of furniture were mounted in a number of other garden cities including Gronauer Wald and Karlsruhe.

The Neue Gemeinschaft's influence on the DGG was not limited to their emphasis on cultural education. The earlier organization also had a lasting effect on the DGG's political orientation. More specifically, both the Neue Gemeinschaft and the DGG repeatedly emphasized that they did not espouse any dogma. Rather, they believed in the reconciliation of opposites, political and otherwise. This synthetic position was a response to those Marxist critics who accused them of advocating a utopian fantasy. The leadership of the Neue Gemeinschaft stated that "they promise nothing for the future and do not demand belief in any dogma or invisible power."<sup>59</sup> In an article entitled "Utopia," they attacked doctrinaire Marxism directly, questioning the idea that a revolution would ever happen or could create the desired new society; instead, they argued that a gradual evolution of the new society out of the old was the only way for real progress to occur.<sup>60</sup> They also decried the idea that a central committee could decree a new political structure, believing instead that compulsion whether by capitalist governments or communist central committees undermined the fundamentally cooperative principles of socialism. Years later, Martin Buber, a friend of Gustav Landauer and a participant in the Neue Gemeinschaft, would state that the pejorative epithet "utopian" – here indicating something impractical or not grounded in reality – was lobbed at any non-Marxist socialist who believed in "revolutionary continuity" rather than the complete break of revolution.<sup>61</sup>

Of course, the Neue Gemeinschaft was not the only model organization to eschew political parties or religious affiliation. The founders of the orchard colony Eden, a cooperative

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<sup>59</sup> "Die Neue Gemeinschaft", *Die Neue Gemeinschaft* 2, no. 1 (1902): 4. "Wir vertrösten nicht auf die Zukunft und verlangen keinen Glauben an irgendwelche Dogma noch an unsichtbare Kräfte."

<sup>60</sup> "Utopia" *Die Neue Gemeinschaft* 2, no. 3 (1902): 96.

<sup>61</sup> Martin Buber, *Paths in Utopia* (New York: Collier Books, 1949), 13. Because this is the term commonly used in much of the literature I will continue to use the term "utopian socialist" to refer to the group of theorists including Charles Fourier, Robert Owen and Henri Saint-Simon who conceived of socialist projects meant to change the fabric of society. However, like Buber, I use the term without the pejorative connotations mentioned above.

settlement that the Neue Gemeinschaft and the DGG acknowledged as a predecessor, banned political parties from their community, believing that the espousal of any party ideology made the compromises necessary for the longevity of the settlement impossible.<sup>62</sup> The English garden city movement advocated a more inclusive stance, and Hans Kampffmeyer reported that the rooms of Mrs. Howard-Memorial-Hall at Letchworth were made available to any organization, regardless of its political or religious affiliation.<sup>63</sup> For many reasons then, the DGG took up the crusade against rigid political dogma in their first issue of *Gartenstadt* stating:

We espouse no dogma. Many paths can lead to our goals and we want therefore to investigate every serious proposal without prejudice. We likewise understand that for an expert critique we must also thank our opponents.<sup>64</sup>

Proposals would be subjected to expert scrutiny and, if they were found meritorious, incorporated into the movement. They truly believed that as much could be learned from the ideas of their opponents as from those of their supporters. Many individual garden cities followed the lead of the national organization. Both Gartenstadt Nürnberg and Gartenstadt Mannheim insisted that their board of directors and their general membership should come from across the political spectrum so as to ensure that no one point of view dominated.<sup>65</sup>

This is not to say that the founding members of the DGG had no political leanings; in fact it is difficult to deny their leftist, even anarchist, tendencies. However, these men strove to provide a forum where supporters of any political background who desired to improve German

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<sup>62</sup> Thomas Krückemeyer, *Gartenstadt als Reformmodell: Siedlungskonzeption zwischen Utopie und Wirklichkeit* (Siegen: Carl Bösch Verlag, 1997), 26.

<sup>63</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, *Die Gartenstadtbewegung*, 20.

<sup>64</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, "An den Leser" *Gartenstadt* 1, no. 1 (1906-07): 1. "Wir sind auf keinerlei Dogma vereidigt. Zu unseren Zielen mögen verschiedene Wege führen und wir wollen deshalb ohne Voreingenommenheit jeden ernsthaften Vorschlag prüfen und für eine fachliche Kritik auch dem Gegner Dank wissen."

<sup>65</sup> "Die Gartenstadtbewegung in Bayern," *Gartenstadt* 3, no. 3 (1909): 33 and "Gründung einer Gartenvorstadtgenossenschaft in Mannheim," *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 11 (November 1910): 131.

cities could participate. They needed to find a balance between capitalism and communism, between progressive and conservative ideologies, because they put the practical realization of a garden city above theoretical niceties. Unlike their predecessors in Friedrichshagen, who advocated anarchism more stridently, they were willing to utilize any means at their disposal to realize their goals, whether that meant collaborating with the *Bodenreform* (land reform) movement to pass laws regulating land speculation or accepting government money for the purchase of land and the construction of houses.

This openness accounted for the success of the DGG but also makes an ideological analysis of the organization particularly difficult. Ideas central to the mission of the organization take on conservative or progressive hues according to the bent of the observer. For example, the concept of the German *Volk* and of *völkisch* design has gained a negative connotation due to the Nazis' emphasis on the regeneration of the German "race." In the early twentieth century, when the DGG was founded, this connotation did not exist, nor was nationalism viewed as something particular to the extreme right. The board members of the DGG often combined nationalism with a decidedly international outlook, due in part to their early exposure to anarcho-socialism, itself an international movement. Bernhard and Hans Kampffmeyer, for example, spoke French and English as well as German, and they spent a significant amount of time in anarchist circles in Paris and London. At the same time, these same men exhibited great pride in their German heritage and saw no contradiction in adapting international political or urbanistic movements to German conditions or in utilizing references to traditional German architecture and planning. In the end, one cannot argue for a simplistic correlation of modernist forms to progressive political ideas or for a correspondence between the *Heimatkunst* movement and a conservative proto-Nazi stance.

By the same token, the idea of *Innenkolonisation* (inner-colonization) gained notoriety as a policy of the Nazi regime, which believed that the lands to the east of Germany rightfully belonged to the greater German empire. For most of the members of the DGG, however, *Innenkolonisation* simply referred to a policy of distributing industry more equitably across the country and resettling agricultural areas within Germany's existing borders.<sup>66</sup> The massive exodus of workers to urban centers had depopulated many of these rural areas, and the DGG assessed the cheaper land in these empty areas to be perfect for the creation of garden cities. Occasionally, an article surfaced in *Gartenstadt* that expressed more strident colonial intent. For example, Dr. Hermann Warlich's article, entitled "Ostmark und Gartenstadt," envisioned the garden city as a tool of the Prussian government to settle and thereby maintain control over some of the disputed eastern territories.<sup>67</sup> While within the Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, the idea of *Innenkolonisation* usually had little to do with territorial expansion, Dr. Warlich's nationalistic interpretation resonated with some members.

Even traditionally leftist goals such as communal property and the implementation of consumer and producer cooperatives cannot easily be categorized. The DGG looked to utopian socialists and anarchists such as Peter Kropotkin to bolster support for these measures. The anti-Semite Theodor Fritsch, on the other hand, supported communal property as a means of removing land from the control of Jewish financiers. The picture is complicated by the fact that Fritsch was a member of the DGG, thereby illuminating the difficulty in determining what proportion of the DGG's supporters embraced the garden city out of allegiance to conservative versus socially progressive principles. Perhaps, like the founders, most members were

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<sup>66</sup> *Der Zug der Industrie aufs Land: Eine Innenkolonisation*, Flugschrift No. 5 (Berlin: Verlag der Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, 1904).

<sup>67</sup> Dr. Hermann Warlich, "Ostmark und Gartenstadt: Ein Beitrag zur Förderung Ostmärkischer Kultur-Bestrebungen." *Gartenstadt* 2, no. 3 (1908): 20.

pragmatists who sought a middle ground between the positions of ideologues on the left and the right.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Proof that the DGG managed to find a middle ground can be extrapolated from the fact that they found enemies on both ends of the political spectrum: property owners' associations labeled the organization as an enemy of the capitalist system, while radical socialists considered garden cities to be palliative measures that could not achieve real reform.

## Chapter 2

### Models of Co-operative Association in the German Garden City Movement

Participants in Berlin's reform circles at the turn of the twentieth century were exposed to a variety of models for the establishment of cooperative communities. All of these models envisioned a society that provided decent housing, work and education to even the lowest of its members, with an economy based on mutual aid rather than capitalistic competition. Perhaps due to the scale of their endeavors, the *Neue Gemeinschaft* looked to the early nineteenth-century proposals of utopian socialists such as Charles Fourier, while the DGG was influenced more by the later agro-industrial settlements of Peter Kropotkin and Franz Oppenheimer.<sup>1</sup> Ebenezer Howard did not acknowledge any of these sources as inspiration for the garden city, but the overlap with theories familiar to the founders of the German movement may help to explain why Howard's ideas found immediate favor there.

The *Neue Gemeinschaft* was meant to be a separate community of like-minded individuals who lived and worked side by side, each striving to reach the highest levels of spiritual maturity. The founders hoped that their endeavors would result in a peaceful society in which all one's spiritual and bodily needs were met and in which the inhabitants were freed from the *Besitzfieber* (feverish drive to acquire property and possessions) they viewed as a defining quality of industrial society. They also assumed that the success of the *Neue Gemeinschaft* would prove the feasibility of a society based upon communal foundations and convince the rest of the world to follow in their footsteps voluntarily.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Twentieth-century historians such as Julius Posener, Kristiana Hartmann and Franziska Bollerey viewed the garden city movement as the direct descendent of utopian socialist thought, despite the fact that the DGG did not acknowledge this fact in their propaganda. Of course, Kropotkin and Oppenheimer were themselves inspired by the utopian socialists. The influence of Fourier and Owen on the DGG is, therefore, indirectly present, filtered through the theories of these later authors.

<sup>2</sup> "Die Neue Gemeinschaft," *Die Neue Gemeinschaft* 2, no. 1 (1902): 5-6.

Many contemporary observers associated the Neue Gemeinschaft with the projects of the utopian socialists. For example, in May of 1902, journalists from a wide range of local newspapers remarked on this connection in their reporting on the inaugural festivities for the Neue Gemeinschaft's newly acquired home on the Schlachtensee. These journalists repeatedly compared the Neue Gemeinschaft's goals to those of Fourier, emphasizing the similarities in the social and economic foundations of the settlements. Max Schönant, writing for the *Kleinen Journal*, captured the general sentiment expressed by much of the news coverage when he stated:

With this settlement, the brothers Julius and Heinrich Hart, the spiritual leaders of the Neue Gemeinschaft, have planned something similar to what Fourier created with his Phalanstère or what Maurice Donnay represented in his play *La Clairière*: a communal dwelling for a number of like-minded people, who through their internal cohesion want to free themselves from the numerous prejudices under whose spell the general masses exist.<sup>3</sup>

The editors of *Die Neue Gemeinschaft*, the eponymous publication of the organization, embraced the connection to the earlier socialist theorists and re-published the relevant newspaper excerpts in their own magazine. They obviously wanted to see their project as the descendant of these early nineteenth-century proposals, with one important distinction: the Neue Gemeinschaft would finally succeed in creating an ideal society.

The right of all members of the society to education and to fulfilling work represented an important legacy of utopian-socialist thought in the Neue Gemeinschaft, one that also continued

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<sup>3</sup> “Von unserm Frühlingsfest,” *Die Neue Gemeinschaft* 2, no. 4 & 5 (1902): 160. “Die Brüder Julius und Heinrich Hart, die geistigen Leiter der „Neuen Gemeinschaft“, haben mit dieser Ansiedlung etwas Aehnliches geplant, was einst Fourier mit seinem „Phalanstère“ geschaffen und was Maurice Donnay in seinem Schauspiel „La Clairière“ geschildert hat: ein gemeinsames Wohnhaus für eine Anzahl gleichgestimmter Menschen, die sich durch ihr innerliches Zusammenhalten loslösen wollen von den zahllosen Vorurteilen, in deren Bann die grosse Masse steht.”



to exist, if in a somewhat diluted form, in the DGG.<sup>4</sup> Fourier heavily emphasized the need for a single educational system for the entire community and spoke of the responsibility to bring the lower classes up to the standards of the wealthy in terms of refinement.<sup>5</sup> In addition, Fourier believed that education should develop all aspects of the body and soul and foster the natural aptitudes of each person. Education was considered part of each individual's daily work. To keep work pleasurable, Fourier advocated a change of occupation every two hours, stating that this method "is the means of securing Equilibrium between the physical and spiritual faculties: it is the guarantee of health for the body, and progress for the mind."<sup>6</sup> One sees echoes of Fourier's thinking in the statutes of the Neue Gemeinschaft, although in a much less regimented manner. They too wanted to raise all participants to a higher spiritual level through education. And like Fourier, the founders of the Neue Gemeinschaft spoke of all work having equal value and of each person finding a vocation suited to his inclination and talents. Even more importantly, they stressed that intellectual and manual labor were interconnected and formed the basis of society. While workers would naturally gravitate towards those tasks for which they possessed an affinity, the Neue Gemeinschaft did not want workers to become one-dimensional automatons. Rather, workers should investigate realms outside their usual purview, with manual laborers exploring intellectual pursuits and intellectual workers partaking of physical work. The Neue Gemeinschaft provided the space and the opportunity for these workers to interact with and

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<sup>4</sup> Peter Kropotkin's *The Conquest of Bread* is another possible source for these ideas concerning education and work. According to Kropotkin, each worker in his anarcho-socialist society would need to contribute only part of his day to the work of providing for basic needs. That would leave at least five hours of the day available for scientific and artistic endeavors. Here again we see the insistence on the alternation of manual and intellectual work. Kropotkin differed slightly from his predecessors in his insistence that intellectual pursuits should be included among the list of things like property and land which need to be distributed more equitably and in his belief that men would turn naturally to these endeavors once they had the time [Peter Kropotkin, *The Conquest of Bread and Other Writings*, ed. Marshall Shatz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 25-30 and 93-97].

<sup>5</sup> Charles Fourier, *Theory of Social Organization*, Sociological Series, no. 2 (New York: C. P. Somerby, 1876), Part Second, 124-125.

<sup>6</sup> Fourier, Part First, 34 and Part Second, 67.

learn from each other (at least in theory).<sup>7</sup> The DGG addressed both education and work less specifically than the Neue Gemeinschaft or their utopian-socialist forerunners; their attitudes towards work and education must be extrapolated from their viewpoints on related matters. One must assume that the exploitation of workers would not occur in the garden cities because pure capitalism would not exist within their borders and because industrial concerns interested in relocating to these communities would have enlightened management. Similarly, the quality expected of goods produced there would allow workers to take pleasure in their work, even if it occurred in a factory setting. Inhabitants were to have access to educational lectures and activities whenever they wished, and the well-planned physical surroundings of the garden cities were supposed to elevate their aesthetic sensibilities. The DGG also emphasized access to personal gardens as an antidote to the work performed during the day and viewed gardening as a recreational, social and nutritional benefit to the inhabitants of the city.<sup>8</sup>

While many parallels to the utopian socialists can be drawn, most contemporary observers focused solely on the unconventional living arrangements of the Neue Gemeinschaft, which bore a superficial similarity to Charles Fourier's *Phalanstère*, the palace-like buildings that housed Fourier's communal societies and organized their collective production and consumption (Figure 9).<sup>9</sup> As in the *Phalanstère*, the most committed members of the Neue Gemeinschaft lived in a single building, here a former children's sanitarium on the shores of the

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<sup>7</sup> "Von unserer Lebensgemeinschaft in Schlachtensee," *Die Neue Gemeinschaft* 2, no. 6 & 7 (1902): 171 and Heinrich Hart, "Unsere Erste Ansiedlung," *Die Neue Gemeinschaft*, no. 2 (October 27, 1900). In reality, only those who already shared the worldview of the founders wanted to participate in the experiment. The homogeneous society consisted largely of educated, middle-class men and women who read Tolstoy and Nietzsche and believed that they could reach a higher level of spiritual maturity through the intellectual and artistic endeavors of the organization.

<sup>8</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, "Über Gärten," *Die Gartenstadt*, no. 2 (1906): 11.

<sup>9</sup> Franziska Bollerey and Kristiana Hartmann, "Kollektives Wohnen: Theorien und Experimente der utopischen Sozialisten Robert Owen (1771-1858) und Charles Fourier (1772-1837)," *Archithese*, no. 8 (1973): 22.

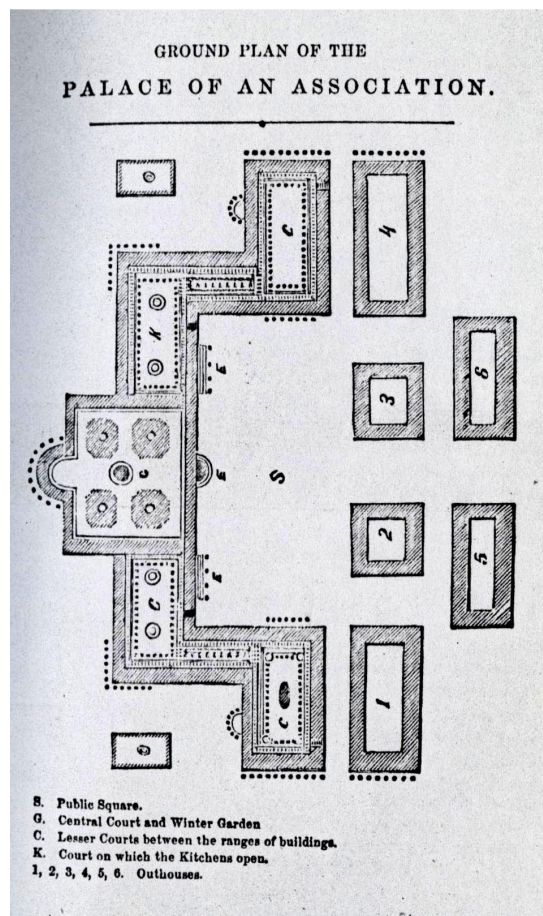


Figure 9. Plan of Charles Fourier's *Phalanstère*. The building resembled the palace of an absolutist monarch in form but was meant to house a society based on socialist principles.

Schlachtensee. A reporter from the socialist magazine *Vorwärts* described the Berlin organization as follows:

In its approximately thirty rooms, the house accommodates twenty adults of both sexes – some single, some married – along with a lively band of children.... This entire community now constitutes a large family, creating a common household from commonly held resources.<sup>10</sup>

Like a family, the members were meant to dine together. To this end, the statutes of the *Neue Gemeinschaft* mandated a communal kitchen (*Einküche*) that would supply the repasts for the group's meals. While the authors of the statutes did not require the members to eat every meal together, they anticipated that communal meals would form the rule and decreed that the numerous artistic-religious festivities staged by the group would

commence with a feast, helping to create that all important feeling of community.<sup>11</sup> As so often happened with the *Neue Gemeinschaft*, however, the implementation of this element foundered due to a lack of practical planning. The land reformer Adolf Damaschke, who participated in the

<sup>10</sup> "Von unserm Frühlingsfest," 159. "Das Haus beherbergt in seinen ca. 30 Räumen 20 Erwachsene beiderlei Geschlechts – teils ledig, teils verheiratet--, wozu dann noch eine muntere Schar von Kindern kommt.... Diese ganze Gemeinschaft nun bildet eine einzige grosse Familie, die aus gemeinsamen Mitteln einen gemeinsamen Haushalt bestreitet." Unlike some other experiments in communal living such as Owen's New Harmony, the family unit was maintained and children stayed with their parents. In addition, many more members of the organization did not live in the former sanitarium but had access to the public rooms and attended the monthly festivals.

<sup>11</sup> "Von unserer Lebensgemeinschaft in Schlachtensee," 172-3.

Neue Gemeinschaft for a time, described the problems caused by the management of the communal kitchen and even laid some of the blame for the failure of the whole endeavor on this one component. According to Damaschke, the women of the community were to take turns supervising the kitchen on a weekly basis. The kitchen staff quickly complained of the impracticality of this arrangement because each week a new supervisor with new methods of running the kitchen took the reins. Rather than easing the workload of the community, the communal kitchen became a source of confusion and tension caused by the lack of consistent operating standards.<sup>12</sup>

Leading members of the DGG, such as Hans Kampffmeyer and Peter Behrens, also endorsed the provision of communal services within garden cities.<sup>13</sup> Unlike Fourier or their predecessors in the Neue Gemeinschaft, the DGG did not emphasize communal meals, as they would have been impractical for the 30,000 intended inhabitants of Howard's scheme. Rather, the communal kitchens – along with laundries, housekeeping facilities and childcare – were seen as a time- and resource-saving mechanisms. The communities could save on the cost of food and fuel by buying and preparing the food in bulk. Families could pick up food from the kitchen

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<sup>12</sup> Adolf Damaschke, *Aus meinem Leben*, 242. Kevin Repp questions the reliability of Damaschke's account stating: Damaschke's memoirs were "... a carefully crafted piece of propaganda weaving together personal memories, common stereotypes, and 'objective' statistics in a narrative that leads us ineluctably through the bewildering landscape of Wilhelmine social movements to land reform as the sole practical answer to the social question.... As an accurate record of his path from the rental barracks to land reform – and it is the only major one available – Damaschke's autobiography is of limited use, but for the generation of 1890 it contained important lessons" [Kevin Repp, *Reformers, Critics, and the Paths of German Modernity* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 69-70].

<sup>13</sup> Ebenezer Howard also mentioned communal kitchens in passing. He found them most appropriate in working- or lower middle-class areas where the economies of scale created by common fuel sources and common servants would provide a significant financial help to the inhabitants and reduce the drudgery required of women in maintaining a home. He even tried to implement his ideas in a section of Letchworth named Homesgarth, which was to consist of a quadrangle with three sides devoted to residences and the fourth to communal services. By 1909, half of the building was completed and open to residents. The communal services proved too expensive, however, and Howard and the inhabitants had to discard this aspect of the project after losing money steadily for a number of years. Homesgarth had not yet been built when Hans Kampffmeyer and Peter Behrens endorsed communal services [Howard, *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, 36 and Robert Beevers, *The Garden City Utopia: A Critical Biography of Ebenezer Howard* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 110-112].

but did not have to eat in a dining hall.<sup>14</sup> While German garden cities originally incorporated plans for communal housekeeping facilities and other community buildings, the organizations often had to postpone construction due to lack of funds and the fact that these facilities required a minimum number of inhabitants to be financially feasible. For example, documents written to explain Hellerau's program to government officials indicated that garden city intended to build a communal laundry. Hellerau never was able to provide this service to the inhabitants, and, as a result, individual residences were provided with laundry rooms in the cellar.<sup>15</sup> Gartenstadt Nürnberg, on the other hand, succeeded in building a central washhouse during the first phase of its construction.<sup>16</sup> It was one of the few garden cities that was able to do so.

For Fourier and the other utopian socialists, communal living arrangements and housekeeping facilities were not simply measures of convenience or economy. Rather, they reflected fundamental changes in the social structure of the community: various social classes living side by side, the establishment of minimum requirements for housing, and the interconnection of work and recreation. Fourier's *Phalanstère* made those changes in the social fabric visible, as did Owen's Home Colonies, although the Neue Gemeinschaft never mentioned Owen in their propaganda. Fourier devoted a significant amount of time to outlining the physical parameters for his community. His *Phalanstère* mixed apartments of various sizes with workshops, dining halls and rooms of assembly, all carefully placed to take into account use

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<sup>14</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, *Die Gartenstadtbewegung*, 91 and "Die Gartenstadt in Ihrer Kulturellen und Wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung," 114. See also Peter Behrens, "Die Gartenstadtbewegung," *Gartenstadt 2*, no. 4 (1908): 27.

<sup>15</sup>"Begründung" [Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft Hellerau mbH Archive, Signatur 9.1.36, File 5, Stadtarchiv Dresden] and Karl Schmidt to Richard Riemerschmid, 3 September 1909 [Deutsche Werkstätten Hellerau Archiv, Signatur 11754, no 605, Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden]. See also Otto Geihlsler to Richard Riemerschmid, 4 December 1906 [Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid, I, B-140, Germanisches Nationalmuseum].

<sup>16</sup> *Die Gartenstadt Nürnberg von der Gründung bis zur NS – Zeit (1908-1933). Geschichte und Geschichten, Teil 1* (Nürnberg: G & S Verlag, 2001), 25. Gartenstadt Magdeburg also had a central wash- and bathhouse, but that was only built after 1930.

patterns, noise and ease of access. Perhaps the most obvious symbol of his effort to propagate social interaction was the gallery that was to run along one entire side of the palace and provide access to all parts of the building as well as a place for chance encounters with other inhabitants.<sup>17</sup> To a certain extent, the fact that the members of the Neue Gemeinschaft lived under one roof as in Fourier's *Phalanstère* meant that the community achieved a greater degree of daily social interaction than would have been possible in typical city life. However, they had not designed their dwelling to their needs or specifications. Their published literature provides little evidence that they concerned themselves with the physical design of their habitation or its contents.

The garden city movement, rather than the Neue Gemeinschaft, was the rightful successor to this component of utopian socialist thought. The garden city was to have too many inhabitants for a single building, but Howard paid close attention to the placement of work and recreational activities in the plan, even providing a version of Fourier's galleries in the Crystal Palace that encircled the Central Park and was intended as an exhibition hall and place of congregation.<sup>18</sup> The DGG followed in Howard's footsteps and emphasized the urban planning aspect of their endeavor, viewing both the provision of public buildings and the relation of housing groups to each other as symbols of the desired social unity sadly lacking in contemporary, unplanned cities. They also envisioned a community building or *Volkshaus* at the center of each garden city that would incorporate many of the social features of the *Phalanstère*, including the lecture halls, exhibition spaces and library.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Charles Fourier, Part Second, 89-96.

<sup>18</sup> Howard, *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, 30-36.

<sup>19</sup> The community house is yet another example of the existence of multiple sources for features of the garden city. Howard does not mention this feature in his book, but Letchworth had a similar building, Mrs. Howard-Memorial-Hall, as did Bournville. The painter Fidus as well as Theodor Fischer, and later Bruno Taut, also envisioned central

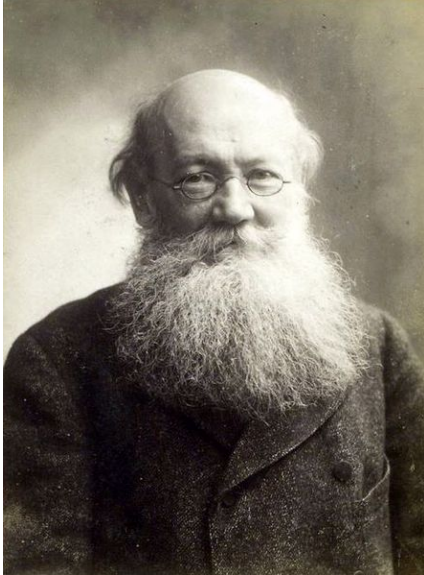


Figure 10. Peter Kropotkin.

The DGG sympathized with many of the goals of the utopian socialists, especially the establishment of non-exploitative methods of production and consumption, but the significantly increased scale of the garden city (30,000 inhabitants versus Fourier's 1,600), as well as the desire of the DGG to maintain the individual family unit in its own house as the building block of society forced them to find other sources of inspiration. For this reason, they looked to the writings of Peter Kropotkin, Franz Oppenheimer and Gustav Landauer.<sup>20</sup> All three of these men expanded upon the ideas of the utopian socialists and developed systems of mutualist or co-operative association that incorporated producer and consumer cooperatives and allowed some place for the industrial advances of recent decades. In fact, one can view these late nineteenth-century theorists as bridging the gap between the utopian socialists and the German garden city movement, especially as all three of them had personal relationships with leaders of the *Neue Gemeinschaft* and the DGG.

The influential anarchist Prince Peter Alekseevich Kropotkin (Figure 10) was the son of Russian nobility. In 1862, he joined a Cossack regiment in Eastern Siberia, where he was quickly assigned as secretary to two commissions, one studying the prison system and the other developing a plan for municipal self-government. While in Siberia he also conducted several

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temple-like buildings that would house non-denominational spiritual and educational activities. The members of the *Neue Gemeinschaft* and the DGG would have been aware of all of these sources, but, as they do not cite their influences, it is difficult to know exactly how they arrived at their proposals.

<sup>20</sup> The intended scale of Kropotkin's endeavor went even further than the planned size of the garden cities. He believed: "The free agro-industrial communes, of which so much was spoken in England and France before 1848, need not be small phalansteries, or small communities of 2,000 persons. They must be vast agglomerations, like Paris, or, still better, small territories" [Kropotkin, *The Conquest of Bread*, 8-9].

important geological expeditions, garnering acclaim in the international scientific community. Kropotkin returned to his home of St. Petersburg in 1867. His frustrations with the military commissions' inability to implement meaningful reform combined with an interest in the writings of the anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and a sojourn among anarchists in Switzerland to deepen his political radicalism. He was arrested in 1874 for his participation in a socialist group known as the Chaikovsky Circle. Well-connected relatives arranged for his transfer to a prison hospital after he fell ill during his incarceration in the Peter-Paul Fortress. Kropotkin escaped from the prison hospital and fled, first to England and then to Switzerland, where he founded the influential anarchist newspaper *La Révolté* in 1879. A few years later the Swiss authorities drove him from Jura for his political views. He took refuge in France but was soon arrested and imprisoned again. Upon his release, he headed for London, where he spent decades writing and lecturing on anarchism and advocating the "immediate abolition of the state and its replacement by a decentralized network of small, self-sufficient communities linked by voluntary agreement."<sup>21</sup> He returned to Russia in 1917 after the overthrow of the czar but died just a few years later in 1921.

Kropotkin's ideas about the interdependence of industry and agriculture were formative for the garden city movement, both in England and in Germany. Ebenezer Howard "almost certainly" heard him speak in London, and both Bernhard and Hans Kampffmeyer knew Kropotkin personally through their time in Paris and London anarchist circles before the turn of the century.<sup>22</sup> No direct correspondence between the Kampffmeyers and Kropotkin remains, but

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<sup>21</sup> Marshall S. Schatz, introduction to *The Conquest of Bread and Other Writings*, by Peter Kropotkin, xv. All of the biographical information on Kropotkin comes from this essay as well.

<sup>22</sup> Beevers, 17. His grandson, Thomas Kampffmeyer, states that Hans knew Kropotkin personally while in Paris. I have not found any other corroboration for this statement beyond the letter mentioned in the next footnote [Conversation with Thomas Kampffmeyer, 16 November 2006].



the extent of their relationship can be pieced together from other sources. In 1903, Hans received news of Kropotkin in a letter from a mutual Russian friend.<sup>23</sup> His cousin Bernhard's friendship with Kropotkin became fodder for a comical scene in Bruno Wille's 1914 novel, *Das Gefängnis zum preußischen Adler* (The Prison of the Prussian Eagle), based on Wille's experiences among the Friedrichshagener Dichterkreis. In a loosely fictionalized account, Wille related a story in which the police – who were keeping an eye on Bernhard due to his involvement in anarchist politics – intercepted a postcard informing Bernhard to expect a fragile package. Immediately assuming explosives, the police searched Bernhard's house but found only the tomatoes that Kropotkin, an avid gardener, had sent to his friend.<sup>24</sup> In 1919, Bernhard published his translation of Kropotkin's French edition of *The Conquest of Bread* (1892), and a letter to Josef August Lux reveals that he received early copies of Kropotkin's works directly from the publisher.<sup>25</sup> But it was not only through personal relationships that Kropotkin's influence infiltrated reform circles in Berlin. Erich Mihas and Albert Weidner, the editors of the anarchist magazine *Der arme Teufel* (The Poor Devil), both of whom had connections to the group in Friedrichshagen, included many excerpts of Kropotkin's work in their publication along with reports on the activities of the Neue Gemeinschaft and the DGG.

Franz Oppenheimer and Gustav Landauer (Figures 11-12) were more directly involved with the activities of the Berlin organizations. Landauer was an important figure in German anarchist circles and played an active role in the Neue Gemeinschaft.<sup>26</sup> As the programs for

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<sup>23</sup> F. Tcherkesoff to Hans Kampffmeyer, 10 December 1903 [Kampffmeyer Family Papers, Ute Hamann].

<sup>24</sup> Bruno Wille, *Das Gefängnis zum Preußischen Adler* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1914), 28-30.

<sup>25</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer to Josef August Lux, 2 March 1904 [F Rep. 241 Acc. 575, Landesarchiv Berlin].

<sup>26</sup> While Landauer already had socialist inclinations, Eugene Lunn argues that it was most likely Bruno Wille and Bernhard Kampffmeyer who introduced him to the *Verein Unabhängige Sozialisten* [Eugene Lunn, *Prophet of Community: The Romantic Socialism of Gustav Landauer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 57].



Figure 11. Gustav Landauer.

various festivities attest, he lectured frequently on topics such as “Nietzsche und die Neue Gemeinschaft.” In 1895, he had written a short pamphlet entitled *Ein Weg zur Befreiung der Arbeiter-Klasse (A Path to the Liberation of the Working Class)*, which succinctly laid out a plan for creating islands of socialist influence within the existing capitalist society through the creation of consumer and producer cooperatives. Iain Boyd Whyte argues that this pamphlet was one of a number of works, along with Franz Oppenheimer’s monumental *Die Siedlungsgenossenschaft (Settlement Cooperative)*, published a year later in 1896, which influenced the founders of the DGG and foreshadowed Howard’s garden city.<sup>27</sup> However, Landauer quickly grew frustrated with the dilettantish attempts of the Neue Gemeinschaft to create a socialist society. In a 1902 letter to the editor of *Der arme Teufel*, he criticized the “virtuoso ecstatic” wordplay of Julius Hart and his cohorts and questioned the relevance of their much-beloved Monism, the doctrine that reality constitutes an organic whole without independent parts, to social reform.<sup>28</sup> Landauer eventually broke with his friends from Friedrichshagen and helped to found the Sozialistischen Bund (Socialist League), yet another organization attempting to create settlements based on socialist foundations. In May of 1919, Landauer became a martyr to his convictions, beaten to death by members of the *Reichswehr* for

<sup>27</sup> Iain Boyd Whyte, *Bruno Taut and the Architecture of Activism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 9.

<sup>28</sup> Gustav Landauer, letter to the editor, *Der arme Teufel* 1, no. 2 (1902): 5.

helping lead the Bavarian Revolution, a short-lived attempt to create an independent socialist state in Bavaria.<sup>29</sup>

Franz Oppenheimer, on the other hand, helped to found the DGG. Oppenheimer trained as a doctor and worked among the poor in the rental barracks of Berlin before leaving medicine to study economics and sociology. His work laid the economic foundation for the DGG, and later for the kibbutz movement in what was then Palestine.<sup>30</sup> Anyone who reads his book, *Die Siedlungsgenossenschaft*, cannot help but be struck by the numerous similarities with Howard's concepts, not least of which included the emphasis



Figure 12. Franz Oppenheimer.

on his settlements as the perfect marriage of city and country. Oppenheimer himself acknowledged this correlation in his foreword to the German edition of *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, exclaiming:

It is flesh from my flesh and blood of my blood! The sources, goals and means are entirely, or almost entirely the same, as in my *Siedlungsgenossenschaft*.....<sup>31</sup>

Oppenheimer supplied more than theoretical inspiration for the DGG. His ideas were instrumental in founding of the orchard colony Eden located in Oranienburg, which represented the best model for a functioning communally-owned and -worked settlement near Berlin. Eden's

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<sup>29</sup> Lunn, 3.

<sup>30</sup> Joan Comay, *Who's Who in Jewish History*, rev. Lavinia Cohn-Sherbok. (London: Routledge, 2001), 279 and Franz Oppenheimer, *Erlebtes, Erstrebt, Erreichtes Lebenserinnerungen*, ed. L. Y. Oppenheimer (Düsseldorf: Joseph Melzer Verlag, 1964), 96.

<sup>31</sup> Franz Oppenheimer, foreword to *Gartenstädte in Sicht*, trans. Maria Wallroth-Unterilp (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1907), III. "Ist es doch Fleisch von meinem Fleische und Blut von meinem Blute! Ausgangspunkte, Ziel und Mittel sind ganz oder doch fast ganz dieselben, wie in meiner „Siedlungsgenossenschaft“...."

insistence on vegetarianism and bans on alcohol and smoking placed more restrictions on lifestyle than most members of the DGG could countenance for their own endeavors, but they found Eden's economic success with the manufacture of products such as jams and margarine to be inspiring proof that a communally-owned venture could prosper.

Many contemporary observers avidly watched the garden city movement – in England and Germany – attempt to navigate a path between capitalism and socialism. Critics on both sides of the debate accused them of going too far in the opposite direction. Capitalists decried the communal ownership of land and the limited dividend on investments. Socialists, such as Eduard Bernstein, criticized the garden city as somewhat reactionary. Bernstein stated:

It is not difficult to find points of contact between the garden city project and Owen's Home Colonies, Fourier's *Phalanstère* or their various forerunners and successors, although with the garden cities, the more they are adapted to today's conditions the more attenuated is their connection to true communist ideas.<sup>32</sup>

He believed that Howard had watered down socialist principles in a dangerous fashion by adapting his theories to contemporary conditions, which remained hostile to communism and socialism. It was exactly the inflexibility of the utopian socialists that turned many members of the English garden city movement away from the ideas of Robert Owen and toward those of Howard. As Aneurin Williams pointed out in an essay that was translated into German and published as the fourth pamphlet of the DGG, Owen controlled the economy of his settlement completely and did not allow any place for independent employers or wage earners. Therefore, while Owen's scheme may have been purer than Howard's in its cooperative intentions, it was

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<sup>32</sup> Bernstein, "Neue Vorschläge zur Reform der Volkswohnungen in England," 98. "Es ist unschwer, Berührungspunkte des Gartenstadt-Projekts mit Owens Heimkolonie und Fouriers Phalansterium und ihren Vor- und Nachläufern herauszufinden, so abgeschwächt bei ihm der kommunistische Gedanke erscheint, so sehr es der heutigen Umwelt angepaßt ist."

also completely impractical.<sup>33</sup> Many members of the DGG expressed conflicting opinions as to the organization's proper relationship to communism. Some such as Bernhard Kampffmeyer initially viewed garden cities as a step on the road to full communism. In an article for *Der arme Teufel*, an explicitly anarcho-communist publication, Bernhard proclaimed:

The basic concept of the Garden City Association and Howard is precisely true, that it is considerably less expensive to build well-planned (garden) cities, particularly if one can purchase sufficient relatively inexpensive land. Concerning the foundation of communal land ownership, I believe that we will soon approach communism; people will accept it sooner or later, when they realize that it is more advantageous to work the land communally. If to date, all communist colonies have folded, this does not say anything against communism. Within a garden city, it is yet possible to establish communes.<sup>34</sup>

The earliest of the DGG's own propaganda also reflected this line of thinking, repeatedly calling for key elements of communist ideology such as communal property and production cooperatives for the building trades, though they rarely went so far as to endorse communism openly.<sup>35</sup> Bernstein's fears about the dilution of communist principles in the movement proved well-founded, however. The DGG never gave up on the idea of communal land ownership and governance, but the exigencies of planning and building garden cities often required them to modify their stance. The inevitable lack of funds and the need to work with municipalities or benefactors who demanded some measure of control in return for cheap land forced them to

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<sup>33</sup> Aneurin Williams, *Genossenschaften und Genossenschaftsstädte*, Flugschrift No. 4 (Berlin: Verlag der Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, 1904), 7-8.

<sup>34</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, "Zukunftsland," *Der Arme Teufel* 1, no. 15 (23 August, 1902): 2-3. "Die Grundidee der G. C. A. resp. Howard's ist eben richtig, daß es wesentlich billiger kommt, gut angelegte (Garten-) Städte zu bauen, zumal man da verhältnismäßig genügend und sehr billiges Land kaufen kann. –Auf der Grundlage gemeinschaftlichen Bodenbesitzes glaube ich, werden wir auch bald und eher dem Kommunismus entgegenschreiten; die Menschheit wird letzteres früher oder später thun, wenn sie findet, daß es vorteilhafter ist, den Boden gemeinschaftlich zu bearbeiten. Wenn bisher auch die meisten kommunistischen Kolonien eingegangen sind, so sagt dies doch nichts gegen den Kommunismus. Innerhalb einer Gartenstadt ist es aber möglich, daß sich Kommunen bilden können."

<sup>35</sup> *Gartenstädte: Erste Flugschrift der Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft* (Berlin: Verlag der Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, 1903) and Aneurin Williams, *Genossenschaften und Genossenschaftsstädte*, 8.

implement their schemes piecemeal and made adherence to strict communist or anarcho-socialist principles difficult at best. In addition, as the success of their initial propaganda efforts took hold and the membership of the organization increased, the founders often downplayed their socialist agenda so as not to alienate prospective allies for their cause.

These later compromises notwithstanding, the DGG borrowed heavily from anarcho-socialist proposals. One of the most important concepts was the necessity for the integration of industry and agriculture in self-sufficient communal settlements. Kropotkin put forth this idea in *The Conquest of Bread*, first published in 1892, and then elaborated upon it at great length in *Fields, Factories and Workshops* (1899). This idea hardly seems revolutionary today. However, many earlier schemes for self-sufficient settlements were based on a purely agricultural model. They were a response to the ravages wreaked upon the countryside with the rise of industrialism. Due both to the high costs of acquiring their own land and the increase in manufacturing jobs available in large cities, agricultural workers streamed into the urban centers. Many contemporary observers decried this trend and worried about the increasing misery of city workers forced into fierce competition for jobs, as well as the threat to the self-sufficiency of the nation as a result of decreased domestic agricultural production. These critics also lamented the concomitant loss of traditional elements of German culture as the rapidly growing cities absorbed the working-age populations of long-standing rural communities. They viewed technological innovation in general – and the machine in particular – as the destroyer of traditional ways of life and advocated a return to pre-industrial methods of production.

Kropotkin condemned the depopulation of the land but did not see technology as the problem. He wanted to introduce intensive agriculture with the aim of producing mostly for the settlements themselves. Excess produce and manufactured goods could be sold to an outside

market only after the needs of the settlement had been met.<sup>36</sup> Unlike the more conservative critics who wanted to see a return to an idealized medieval culture, Kropotkin believed that all available technology should be applied to the task at hand. Under his system, the people would expropriate the land, dwellings and all means of production. All able-bodied inhabitants would share the work necessary to maintain the society – agricultural production, maintenance of roads, etc. With every member of society helping, each person need only contribute part of his day to work and the remaining time could be used as he or she saw fit. Since society would distribute all daily necessities to the people as required, workers would not need to earn wages. In fact, every labor- and time-saving device applied to these endeavors would provide more time for the pursuit of science and art.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, Kropotkin welcomed the use of machines and scientifically-based techniques for improving cultivation and the manufacture of goods, even as he acknowledged the necessity of maintaining certain handicrafts and artisanal skills. He opposed the strict specialization that often accompanied factory or machine work and saw the development of agriculture and industry as intertwined. He stated:

Variety is the distinctive feature, both of the territory and its inhabitants; and that variety implies a variety of occupations. Agriculture calls manufacture into existence, and manufactures support agriculture. Both are inseparable; and the combination, the integration of both brings about the grandest results.<sup>38</sup>

Howard and the DGG embraced the combination of agricultural and industrial production as the foundation of the garden city and earnestly tried to convince manufacturers to relocate (often to

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<sup>36</sup> Peter Kropotkin, *Fields, Factories and Workshops or Industry Combined with Agriculture and Brain Work with Manual Work* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1912), 23.

<sup>37</sup> Kropotkin, *The Conquest of Bread*, 93.

<sup>38</sup> Kropotkin, *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, 21-22. Kropotkin had made a similar argument in *The Conquest of Bread*, linking advances in industrial production – the production of steel, for example – to advances in agricultural production [175].

no avail). They too embraced technology and counted among the many benefits of the garden city the opportunity to apply new technologies to transportation, sewers and other aspects of city building hampered by existing infrastructure in urban centers that had grown piecemeal over time.

Kropotkin did not simply address large manufacturers, however. In *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, he focused on small industry and the petty trades. He described their interconnection with large factories, asserting that small industry often grew up around the large concerns. Kropotkin stated that workers in villages that retained small manufacturing and who therefore combined agricultural and industrial work had maintained a higher quality of life and more economic security than their counterparts in the cities where large factories dominated or in villages where industry had disappeared. These small trades, often exercised in the home, provided another benefit in that they required a greater degree of intellectual and creative power than factory work. In fact, Kropotkin saw small workshops as incubators for technical advances for the society as a whole. In his view, the only reason that small trades had died out in many rural villages was due to the overall depopulation of the land.<sup>39</sup> He advocated a decentralization of industry that would reestablish the population and small industry outside large cities. His views coincided with those of Howard, who certainly wanted a mixture of large and small industry in the garden city.<sup>40</sup> The DGG also emphasized industrial decentralization and in some of their earliest pamphlets advocated the establishment of small industry and cottage manufacturing as part of an overall economic strategy for the garden city.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Kropotkin, *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, 283-290.

<sup>40</sup> Unlike most of the German garden cities, Letchworth had some success in enticing a number of smaller firms, including automobile manufacturers and a bookbinder, to relocate to the new community [Beever, 130].

<sup>41</sup> *Gemeinnützige Gesellschaften für Werkstättenbau: Ein Dezentralisationsmittel*, Flugschrift No. 9 (Schlachtensee-Berlin: Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, October 1905), 4.



Oppenheimer focused more heavily on the agricultural problem, but he too saw the problems of the industrial worker as intertwined with those of the agricultural worker.<sup>42</sup> In his view, resettling industrial workers on the land would increase agricultural production and simultaneously improve the lot of those workers left in the city because competition for jobs would decrease, driving wages up. Eventually, manufacturing would be decentralized and large industrial firms would migrate to the rural areas as well. In fact, he stated that nothing worth mentioning would have been achieved unless these firms could be induced to relocate to his proposed settlements.<sup>43</sup> In language strikingly similar to that of Howard a few years later, he spoke of cities' power of attraction. Rather than Howard's image of a magnet, however, he used a scientific analogy regarding the impact of pressure on the movement of gases and liquids, likening cities to locations of economic low pressure inexorably drawing people from the countryside.<sup>44</sup> Like Howard's Social Cities, which were an agglomeration of garden cities, Oppenheimer's combined agricultural/industrial settlements would change the pressure relationship to the benefit of the new settlements in rural areas and provide the best qualities of both city and rural life: the peace and health associated with the countryside and the cultural stimulation and activity of the city.<sup>45</sup>

Some disagreement about the methods of achieving these settlements existed. Unlike Kropotkin, Oppenheimer did not see expropriation as a viable method for acquiring the land necessary for settlements. Rather, he proposed self-help in the sense of pooling the capital of the inhabitants and exploiting all available sources of credit, with the liability shared by the

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<sup>42</sup> Franz Oppenheimer, *Die Siedlungsgenossenschaft* (Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humboldt, 1896), 254.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, 493.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, 474, 535.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, 418.

community at large. He also acknowledged that a significant portion of the necessary funds would have to come from outside the circle of workers who would eventually inhabit the settlement.<sup>46</sup> Oppenheimer even used the phrase “friedliche Wege der Reform” (peaceful paths to reform), foreshadowing the title of Howard’s book.<sup>47</sup> Landauer too advocated less revolutionary measures than expropriation; he proposed creating spaces of economic freedom within the existing capitalist society, arguing that their success would eventually effect the transformation of society as a whole.<sup>48</sup> For Landauer, these spaces did not have to be whole communities, cooperative endeavors would suffice.

All three theorists proposed economic systems based upon communal ownership of the land and means of production. Kropotkin, as already mentioned, favored simply taking the means of production and using them to supply the needs of the community. In his society, no one would earn a wage because the goods would be distributed according to need. Oppenheimer and Landauer, on the other hand, both favored the gradual creation of producer and consumer cooperatives or *Produktiv-* and *Konsumgenossenschaften*. The people could band together to produce both food staples and manufactured goods (or to acquire the machinery necessary for doing so). The two types of cooperatives would work together to ensure the success of the venture, for without a guaranteed market provided by the consumer cooperatives, the efforts of the producers would founder in competition with large capitalistic firms. By the same token, the consumer cooperatives would find it difficult to command reasonable prices if they had to rely

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid, 304, 314. Oppenheimer’s methods describe exactly the techniques used by the DGG before World War I.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, 5, 13.

<sup>48</sup> Landauer, *Ein Weg zur Befreiung der Arbeiter-Klasse*, (Berlin: Verlag von Adolf Marreck, 1895). This is in direct contrast to Kropotkin, whose system necessitated that an entire society or nation expropriate the means of production. Ideally, all of Europe would act in concert. Kropotkin did acknowledge, however, that it was much more likely that “the revolution will take a different character in each of the different European nations; the point attained in the socialization of wealth will not be everywhere the same” [*The Conquest of Bread*, 67].

solely upon capitalist suppliers.<sup>49</sup> Oppenheimer and Landauer did not get rid of the wage system entirely because the cooperatives were embedded within a large capitalist society. They proposed instead that each worker receive the true value of his work (“Jedem Arbeiter der Werth seiner Arbeit!”).<sup>50</sup> Cooperatives could help achieve this goal by eliminating the exploitation of the workers by owners and middlemen, both of whom worked to drive prices up and wages down at the expense of the laborers.<sup>51</sup> The DGG sided with Oppenheimer and Landauer in regard to the methods of achieving reform. Their second pamphlet, published in 1903, mentioned the peaceful seizure of the means of production if an equitable distribution of necessities did not occur, but proposals such as this disappeared from the literature shortly thereafter, to be replaced by an emphasis on cooperatives.<sup>52</sup>

As with many other elements of the DGG’s program, the English cooperative movement reinforced German influences. Landauer, for example, venerated Robert Owen “not only as the father of the idea of achieving a socialist society with the help of consumer cooperatives, but also as the father of the larger English cooperative movement.”<sup>53</sup> Howard took a less absolute position than Owen or any of the other influences on the DGG in regard to cooperatives. He provided space within his garden city for cooperatives to flourish if the inhabitants so desired but did not mandate their existence for any economic venture in the garden city. Howard envisioned an economy based on a mixture of private and municipal or government-run enterprises,

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<sup>49</sup> Landauer, *Ein Weg zur Befreiung der Arbeiter-Klasse*, 11 and Oppenheimer, *Die Siedlungsgenossenschaft*, 157.

<sup>50</sup> Landauer, *Ein Weg zur Befreiung der Arbeiter-Klasse*, 7.

<sup>51</sup> Landauer, *Ein Weg zur Befreiung der Arbeiter-Klasse*, 18 and Oppenheimer, *Die Siedlungsgenossenschaft*, 12, 537.

<sup>52</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, *Die Vermählung von Stadt und Land*, 19-20.

<sup>53</sup> Landauer, *Ein Weg zur Befreiung der Arbeiter-Klasse*, 15-16. “Robert Owen können wir mit Recht nicht nur als den Vater des Gedankens, eine sozialistische Gesellschaft mit Hilfe der Consumentengenossenschaft zu erreichen, verehren, sondern auch als den Vater der großen englischen Genossenschaftsbewegung.”

supplemented where needed by charitable and non-profit organizations. This would allow privately-owned firms to relocate to garden cities and for individuals or cooperatives to open small businesses within city limits. This system was not purely capitalist, however, in that the municipality would keep a close eye on all business concerns in an effort to prevent exploitation of workers and consumers. A system of local option would also protect the community; as long as customers remained satisfied, the store or factory would retain its monopoly, but the municipality would retain the right to open another concern if consumers complained. Competition, therefore, would not run rampant, ruining small business, but would be used judiciously to check exploitation. Howard also advocated profit sharing, as opposed to wages or salaries, as the optimal means of compensating workers. He believed that profit sharing would erase the boundaries between employer and employee and increase the stake that former employees had in the success of the business.<sup>54</sup> The municipalities would take over only those tasks, which they could do better than private enterprise. These tasks would vary from community to community but could include things like the provision of water or the maintenance of roads.

In actuality, garden cities could not exert this amount of control over business; the power balance was skewed towards the firms who planned to relocate since the economic viability of the garden city rested upon their commitment. Nonetheless, the early propaganda of the DGG was filled with articles advocating cooperatives as the preferred method of economic development. Hans Kampffmeyer reported that many of the garden cities grew “hand-in-hand” with the local consumer cooperatives. The Dresdner Konsumverein (Dresden Consumer Cooperative), for example, paid for the building that housed Hellerau’s *Konsum*, which

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<sup>54</sup> Howard, 100-102.



Figure 13. The *Konsum* at Obstbaukolonie Eden, an important model for those in the garden cities. The terracotta plaques celebrate the agricultural activities of the community.



Figure 14. The *Konsum* at Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform outside Magdeburg. This sign likely features lettering from the GDR era, but the idea of a *Konsum* existed in many German garden cities from the very beginning.

functioned as a general store.<sup>55</sup> Many other garden cities also possessed *Konsums*, and the buildings still exist in many garden cities, including Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform (Figure 14). Hans Kampffmeyer envisioned the implementation of consumer cooperatives for more than just the basic necessities of life. He suggested, for example, the establishment of consumer cooperatives working in conjunction with furniture manufacturers as an ideal way for the inhabitants of garden cities to properly furnish their new dwellings.<sup>56</sup> Consumer cooperatives were more successful than their counterparts devoted to production. The only producer cooperatives to gain a foothold in most German garden cities were the building societies. Germany possessed a long tradition of self-help in residential building going back to Victor Aimé Huber, who proposed the use of building societies in the mid-1840s as a possible solution to the current housing crisis.<sup>57</sup> However, the garden city movement took Huber's basic premise and applied it to the production of entirely new communities rather than single buildings imbedded in the existing urban fabric. The DGG acknowledged their debt to the building societies but never mentioned Huber's name in their propaganda. Indirect evidence of his importance exists, however, such as a plaque dedicated to Huber in the current business offices

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<sup>55</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, "Gartenstadt und Genossenschaft in England und Deutschland," in *Aus Englischen Gartenstädten: Beobachtungen u. Ergebnisse einer Sozialen Studienreise* (Berlin-Grunewald: Renaissance-Verlag Robert Federn, [1910]), 78.

<sup>56</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, "Die kulturelle Bedeutung der Gartenstadtbewegung," *Gartenstadt* 3, no. 4 (1909): 56.

<sup>57</sup> In 1900, Bernhard's brother, Paul, had written an analysis of German building societies entitled *Die Baugenossenschaften im Rahmen eines nationalen Wohnungsreformplanes* (Building Societies within the Framework of a National Plan for Housing Reform). He acknowledged their potential for solving the housing problem but argued that their buildings accounted for a relatively small percentage of new housing, especially for the poorest workers. This assessment could just as easily be applied to the endeavors of the garden cities.

of Gartenstadt Mannheim and the announcement of a lecture on Huber's influence given in Gartenstadt Karlsruhe in 1914.<sup>58</sup>

The lack of explicit reference to Ferdinand Tönnies's 1887 masterwork, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Community and Civilization) represents another glaring omission in terms of German influences on the DGG, especially as his basic premise appeared to frame most debates about the state of contemporary society on both the right and the left. In this treatise, Tönnies delineated the characteristics of these two poles of social organization, even as he argued that they did not exist in their pure forms. For Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft* (Community) had its basis in a communal economy with mutually-owned methods of production and goods. The members of this community experienced "a complete unity of human wills," which was the product of common spiritual principles and mutual understanding.<sup>59</sup> These common spiritual principles evolved slowly, superseding the ties of blood relationships linked to a particular place. In *Gemeinschaft*, art and religion "constitute the very stuff of its *daily* life, the rule and measure of its thoughts and activities," permeating every aspect of its existence.<sup>60</sup> Tönnies's description of *Gemeinschaft* appeared to match perfectly with the society desired by the utopian socialists and their successors (as long as religion was interpreted in a non-dogmatic way).<sup>61</sup> *Gesellschaft* (Civil Society), on the other hand, perfectly described the industrial capitalist society that the utopian socialists and the DGG hoped to counter. In *Gesellschaft*, the economic foundation was

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<sup>58</sup> "Rundschau. Karlsruhe," *Gartenstadt* 8, no. 4 (April 1914): 80. This lecture was part of a series of discussions evenings meant to deepen the inhabitants understanding of the cooperative movement. This same series included a discussion of Kropotkin's theories of mutual aid as a factor in evolution.

<sup>59</sup> Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Civil Society*, ed. Jose Harris, trans. Jose Harris and Margaret Hollis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 22, 32-36.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid*, 50.

<sup>61</sup> Conservative critics such as those treated by Fritz Stern (Paul de Lagarde, Julius Langbehn and Arthur Moeller van den Bruck) wanted to recreate *Gemeinschaft* as well, although they looked to historical models such as medieval German towns rather than forward to a new socialist society.

a “general trading economy.” Each person was essentially alone, despite living with large numbers of other people. His actions were undertaken for his own benefit and he was constantly “trying to push his own importance and advantages at the expense of all the rest.”<sup>62</sup> *Gesellschaft* did not evolve over time but rather was established by a specific event or charter.<sup>63</sup>

For all the seemingly negative aspects of *Gesellschaft*, it is instructive to remember Tönnies’s assertion that, when functioning to their highest potential, the economies of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* were indistinguishable in terms of results, if not in terms of motives, and that no pure examples of either type of society existed.<sup>64</sup> The garden city movement, with its emphasis on common aesthetic and spiritual values and its fluid economic structure that could adjust the balance of cooperative and capitalistic enterprise as necessity or inclination dictated would appear to be a perfect synthesis of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, making it all the more surprising that Tönnies’s name never appeared in the pre-war propaganda of the DGG. Perhaps this occurred because his work was descriptive and did not provide a clear path towards an improved society, as did the proposals of Fourier or Kropotkin. In any case, theoretical niceties quickly fell by the wayside as the DGG began the arduous task of promoting their ideas and constructing actual garden cities.

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<sup>62</sup> Tönnies, 52, 65-66.

<sup>63</sup> Jose Harris, introduction to *Community and Civil Society*, by Ferdinand Tönnies, xix.

<sup>64</sup> Tönnies, 79-82.



### Chapter 3 The Pre-War Propaganda of the DGG

In 1903, Heinrich Hart painted a wondrous vision of the aims of the Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft:

As a paradise, a garden without end, a garden in blooming abundance, a garden of profound peace and untroubled bliss for its inhabitants – so in all times has the fantasy of the people of the earth living in a state of perfection been imagined. Is it in reality so bold a dream, to dream that man’s desire and power can realize what the past ventured only the Gods to be capable of?<sup>1</sup>

The answer to this question, in Hart’s view, was that the success of the garden city in solving the problems of contemporary industrial society would cause the settlements to spread across the land, coming as close as possible to realizing paradise on earth. Hart’s effusive description was very much in keeping with the language of the Neue Gemeinschaft, but it quickly gave way to earnest and much more pragmatic prose laying out the goals of the new organization and the means of attaining them.

Paraphrasing Ebenezer Howard, Hart reduced the solution offered by the garden city to one very simple idea: “The country in the city and the city in the country! Marriage of country and city!”<sup>2</sup> The simplicity of this idea allowed for flexible and multi-faceted interpretations of Howard’s garden city model and allowed Hart and his fellow reformers to describe the garden

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<sup>1</sup> Heinrich Hart, foreword to *Die Vermählung von Stadt und Land: Ein soziales Experiment*, 3. “Als ein Paradies, einen Garten ohne Ende, einen Garten in spriessender Fülle, einen Garten voll tiefen Friedens und ungetrübter Seligkeit für seine Bewohner – so hat sich von jeher die Phantasie der Völker die Erde in ihrem Vollkommenheitszustande vorgestellt. Ist es in der Tat ein so kühner Traum, zu träumen, dass Menschenwollen und Menschenkraft dereinst verwirklichen könnte, was die Vergangenheit nur den Göttern zuzutrauen wagte?”

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 4. “...sie alle würden wie von selbst ihre Lösung finden, wenn die Lösung eine allgemeine würde: Das Land in die Stadt, die Stadt aufs Land! Vermählung zwischen Land und Stadt!” Many others expressed similar sentiments, most notably Frederick Engels in *The Housing Question*. He referred to the “abolition of the antithesis between town and country” rather than the marriage of the two [Frederick Engels, *The Housing Question*, Marxist Library, Works of Marxism-Leninism XXIII (New York: International Publishers, 1935), 17].

city as a solution to all of the major social problems of the day.<sup>3</sup> Established on virgin land outside existing cities, garden cities would solve the agrarian problem by attracting farmers back to the country to work in the green belts surrounding them. It would solve the related housing problem of the cities by building affordable residences and by reducing overpopulation in existing cities. It would solve the hygiene problem by reducing the density of population across Germany and making sure that all inhabitants had access to sewers, clean water and laundry facilities. The problem of nourishing food would be solved by increasing local agricultural production in the green belts and by the fact that each inhabitant would have access to a garden to supplement their diet. Better diet and greater access to the outdoors would also improve the health of the inhabitants, further reducing susceptibility to disease. Garden cities would likewise solve the problems of industry by relocating much industrial production to the cheaper land outside the existing metropolitan centers, thereby lowering the rents for factories and driving the cost of production down. In an early call to action entitled *Zur Ansiedlungsfrage!* (On the Settlement Question!), the DGG acknowledged its debt to existing reform movements, which called for many of these same changes, but stated that those reform movements had no chance of succeeding within the confines of existing patterns of land use and ownership. The DGG would succeed where other reform movements had failed because they planned to create entirely new settlements and would be able to control the ownership of land in garden cities.

In 1903, however, Hart's vision of a network of garden cities stretching across Germany was purely speculative. Letchworth had recently been founded in England, the home of the garden city movement, but no examples existed in Germany. How then did the DGG plan to reach its goal of an expansive network of garden cities? Heinrich Hart, Adolf Otto and Bernhard

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 3-4 and Bernhard Kampffmeyer, *Gartenstadt und Landeskultur*, Flugschrift No. 10 (Schlachtensee-Berlin: Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, 1906), 12.

Kampffmeyer spearheaded the initial activities of the organization, which Bernhard described as a “*Propaganda- und Studiengesellschaft*” or propaganda and study association.<sup>4</sup> Hart had introduced the organization to the public in 1902 when he wrote an essay entitled “Gartenstädte” (Garden Cities) and published it in his magazine, *Die Neue Gemeinschaft*. A few months later, the DGG independently reprinted that article as the first in a projected series of *Flugschriften* (pamphlets). Noted luminaries in existing reform movements, such as Otto Jackisch, the leader of the Obstbaukolonie Eden, and the political-economist Dr. Franz Oppenheimer, were also members of the founding committee, and yet the DGG struggled to increase its sphere of influence.<sup>5</sup> The largest problem, according to the 1902-1903 annual report, was the lack of a coherent plan of action for the activities of the organization.<sup>6</sup> In response, Bernhard Kampffmeyer and the board developed a comprehensive propaganda plan that they began to implement in the second fiscal year (1903-1904).<sup>7</sup> Publications played an important role in this comprehensive plan, and so the DGG published more pamphlets, which they distributed to thousands of associations, institutions, and representatives of relevant professions in an attempt to gain members and increase public awareness of the garden city concept.

The authors of these pamphlets broke the larger concept down into its component pieces, addressing, for example, the role of cooperative societies in the building of garden cities in *Flugschrift* No. 4, entitled *Genossenschaften und Genossenschaftsstädte* (Cooperatives and Cooperative Cities). The board also published semi-regular reports, which they called *Korrespondenz der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft* (Correspondence of the German Garden

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<sup>4</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, *Die Vermählung von Stadt und Land*, 24.

<sup>5</sup> “Gartenstädte,” *Die Neue Gemeinschaft*, 211.

<sup>6</sup> Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, *Geschäfts-Bericht 1902-1904* (Schlactensee: Verlag der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft), 5 [Magistratskaten MA S2.263, Bd. II, no. 60, Institut für Stadtgeschichte (Frankfurt)].

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-8.

City Association) and which included summaries of the activities of the DGG and its sister organization in England along with excerpts from relevant articles and conferences. Despite their best intentions, the DGG had published only eleven pamphlets and twenty issues of the *Korrespondenz* by 1907. This situation resulted from a perpetual lack of funds, which led the board repeatedly to request extra donations from their members.<sup>8</sup> The DGG's financial situation was so precarious that they could not afford to have the *Korrespondenz* professionally printed. Instead, a few members made batches of hectograph copies in their spare time.<sup>9</sup>

The financial problems of the DGG restricted its ability to implement other facets of its propaganda plan as well. For example, board members planned a cycle of lectures in Berlin that never got off the ground, as was the case with a committee to investigate which industries could most easily resettle outside existing cities. Other propaganda endeavors fared better, such as a series of illustrated lectures given at the meetings of related associations. The host associations usually covered the cost of the lectures, which perhaps contributed to their relative success.<sup>10</sup> The last component of the propaganda plan involved representatives of the board attending major professional conferences such as the Allgemeinen Deutschen Wohnungskongress (General German Housing Congress) in 1904. Prior to the actual conference, the DGG sent one of their pamphlets, *Thesen zur Wohnungs- und Ansiedlungsfrage* (Principles of Dwelling and Settlement), to all of the participants with whom they were acquainted. The pamphlet tied the solution of the housing question to that of "methodical decentralization and systematic

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<sup>8</sup> Magistratskaten MA S2.263, Bd. II, no. 61, 81, 125, Institut für Stadtgeschichte (Frankfurt).

<sup>9</sup> *Die Deutsche Gartenstadt-Bewegung: Zusammenfassende Darstellung über den heutigen Stand der Bewegung* (Berlin-Schlachtensee: Verlag der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, 1911), 6. A hectograph is a relatively simple duplication device by which written or typed material is transferred to a glycerin-coated sheet of gelatin, from which many copies can be made.

<sup>10</sup> Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, *Geschäfts-Bericht 1904-1905* (Schlachtensee: Verlag der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft), 5 [Magistratskaten MA S2.263, Bd. II, no. 71, Institut für Stadtgeschichte (Frankfurt)].

settlement” of the countryside, which naturally could best be accomplished through the garden city.<sup>11</sup> This conference marked the entry of the DGG onto a national stage, and the board of the DGG arranged for G. Montagu Harris – a member of the council of the Garden City Association and one of the only foreign guests at the conference – to speak about the practical successes of the English movement. While some participants considered the members of the DGG to be a group of “impractical visionaries laboring to realize a utopia,” others acknowledged that their ideas corresponded with many more established reform movements.<sup>12</sup> According to *The Garden City*, the magazine of the English movement, Bernhard Kampffmeyer credited Mr. Harris’s speech with “giving a new authority to our statements which have formerly been regarded as somewhat fantastic.”<sup>13</sup>

In addition to the aforementioned financial travails, the organization also underwent some changes in leadership during these early years. Heinrich Hart authored the original pamphlet and remained involved with the DGG until his death in 1906 but did not play a leading role in the organization after 1904. Bernhard Kampffmeyer, who had participated in the administration of the fledgling organization from its inception, officially took over as *erste Vorsitzender* or chairman in 1906 and was joined by his cousin Hans as general secretary (Figures 15-16). The cousins shared a worldview that was simultaneously idealistic and pragmatic, believing that the garden city could change society for the better but accepting that compromises would have to be

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<sup>11</sup> Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, *Thesen zur Wohnungs- und Ansiedlungsfrage*, 1904. “1. Eine durchgreifende Lösung der Wohnungsfrage ist nur im Zusammenhang mit einer methodischen Städtedezentralisation und planmässigen Ansiedlungsbewegung möglich.”

<sup>12</sup> A. Abendroth, *Die Grossstadt als Städtegründerin*, Flugschrift No. 8 (Berlin-Schlachtensee: Verlag der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, 1905), 4. “...trat zum erstenmale eine Gesellschaft in die breitere Oeffentlichkeit, die gewiss noch recht wenigen bekannt war und darum vielleicht auf viele den Eindruck einer sich mit Utopien abquälenden Vereinigung unpraktischer Schwärmer machte.”

<sup>13</sup> “Continental Notes. From our German Secretary,” *The Garden City: The Official Organ of the Garden City Association* 1, no. 2 (February 1905): 12.

Figure 15.  
Bernhard Kampffmeyer, ca. 1930.



Figure 16.  
Hans Kampffmeyer, Karlsruhe, ca. 1907.

made in order to realize their goals. They recognized that the creation of new urban centers would require a significant amount of preparatory work, both politically and financially, and that the DGG would need widespread support for its endeavors. Accordingly, the Kampffmeyers increased the propaganda and research activities of the organization. They expanded the *Korrespondenz* into the monthly publication, *Gartenstadt* (Figure 17). The new magazine still reported on the activities of the organization but now also included in-depth articles on topics relevant to the movement. One or the other of the cousins edited *Gartenstadt* from its inception in 1906 until July of 1911, the period during which most of the local groups responsible for the construction of individual garden cities were founded.<sup>14</sup> The cousins' efforts shaped both the propaganda activities and the built work associated with the German garden city movement.

The articles in *Gartenstadt* ranged over a complex and interrelated web of topics related to urban reform, including more equitable land ownership and use, workers' housing, hygiene and aesthetics.<sup>15</sup> The Kampffmeyers solicited articles from specialists, continuing a trend initiated in the second pamphlet, *Die Vermählung von Stadt und Land* (The Marriage of City and Land). In this pamphlet, Bernhard Kampffmeyer had issued a call for the creation of committees of experts to study various aspects of the garden city. Bernhard and the other members of the board understood that they did not have the requisite experience in areas such as hygiene or finance and wanted to draw upon the expertise of their members. They originally planned to create committees to investigate the following areas: building technology and engineering,

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<sup>14</sup> The masthead of *Gartenstadt* indicates that Hans Kampffmeyer edited the magazine from 1906, when it was a supplement to *Hohe Warte*, until July of 1911. He took a brief hiatus from September 1909 to March 1910 to write his dissertation during which time his cousin, Bernhard, took over the editor's role. Bernhard also edited the first issue of 1908.

<sup>15</sup> Most of these topics were familiar to readers from the original pamphlets, but the format of the magazine allowed the DGG to flesh out evolving debates in the hotly contested arena of urban reform.

industry and handcraft, agriculture and gardening, financing, and law and social policy.<sup>16</sup> No further record of these committees or of any research they may have conducted exists.<sup>17</sup> What does exist are numerous articles in *Gartenstadt* by some of the very experts who the board originally hoped would comprise these research committees. For instance, the landscape architect Leberecht Migge wrote articles on the creation of gardens within the garden cities.<sup>18</sup> Dr. Karl von Mangoldt, a leading land reformer, contributed articles on the perils of speculation and the need for legal reform of land ownership.<sup>19</sup> And Otto Jackisch, the *Geschäftsführer* or business manager of the successful Eden orchard colony discussed methods of raising capital for cooperative self-help organizations.<sup>20</sup>

Hans and Bernhard Kampffmeyer also contributed numerous articles that reflected their own expertise and personal histories. Bernhard Kampffmeyer focused on the agrarian problem and *Innencolonisation*, which he viewed as a method of rationally distributing industry and agriculture across Germany.<sup>21</sup> Bernhard ran a nursery for many years, but his interest in agriculture stemmed from his study of gardening on the isle of Jersey, which was well-known for

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<sup>16</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, *Die Vermählung von Stadt und Land*, 25.

<sup>17</sup> The closest the DGG came to implementing this plan was the creation of an expanded board consisting of leading economists, artists and architects, hygienists and representatives of business and agriculture. A complete list of the expanded board was published at the back of the eleventh pamphlet, *Von der Kleinstadt zur Gartenstadt* (From the Small City to the Garden City). Karl Schmidt, Hermann Muthesius, and Richard Riemerschmid were all members of this expanded board, along with many other famous names, including Paul Schultze-Naumburg, Franz Oppenheimer, Josef Olbrich, Josef August Lux, Werner Sombart, Josef Stübgen and Theodor Fischer. However, no records exist which illuminate the role of the expanded board within the DGG. Most likely, they functioned in an advisory manner.

<sup>18</sup> Leberecht Migge, "Die kleinen Gärten in der Gartenstadt," *Gartenstadt* 7, no. 4 (April 1913): 67-70.

<sup>19</sup> Dr. K. v. Mangoldt, "Zweierlei Rent und zweierlei Aufgaben," *Gartenstadt* 3, no. 7 (1909): 92-94.

<sup>20</sup> O. Jackisch, "Ein Schulbeispiel genossenschaftlicher Selbsthilfe in der Kapitalbeschaffung," *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 6 (June 1910): 64-68.

<sup>21</sup> The tenth pamphlet published by the DGG and written by Bernhard Kampffmeyer was titled *Gartenstadt und Landeskultur* (Garden City and Land Improvement). Other articles include "Innencolonisation und Gartenstadt"



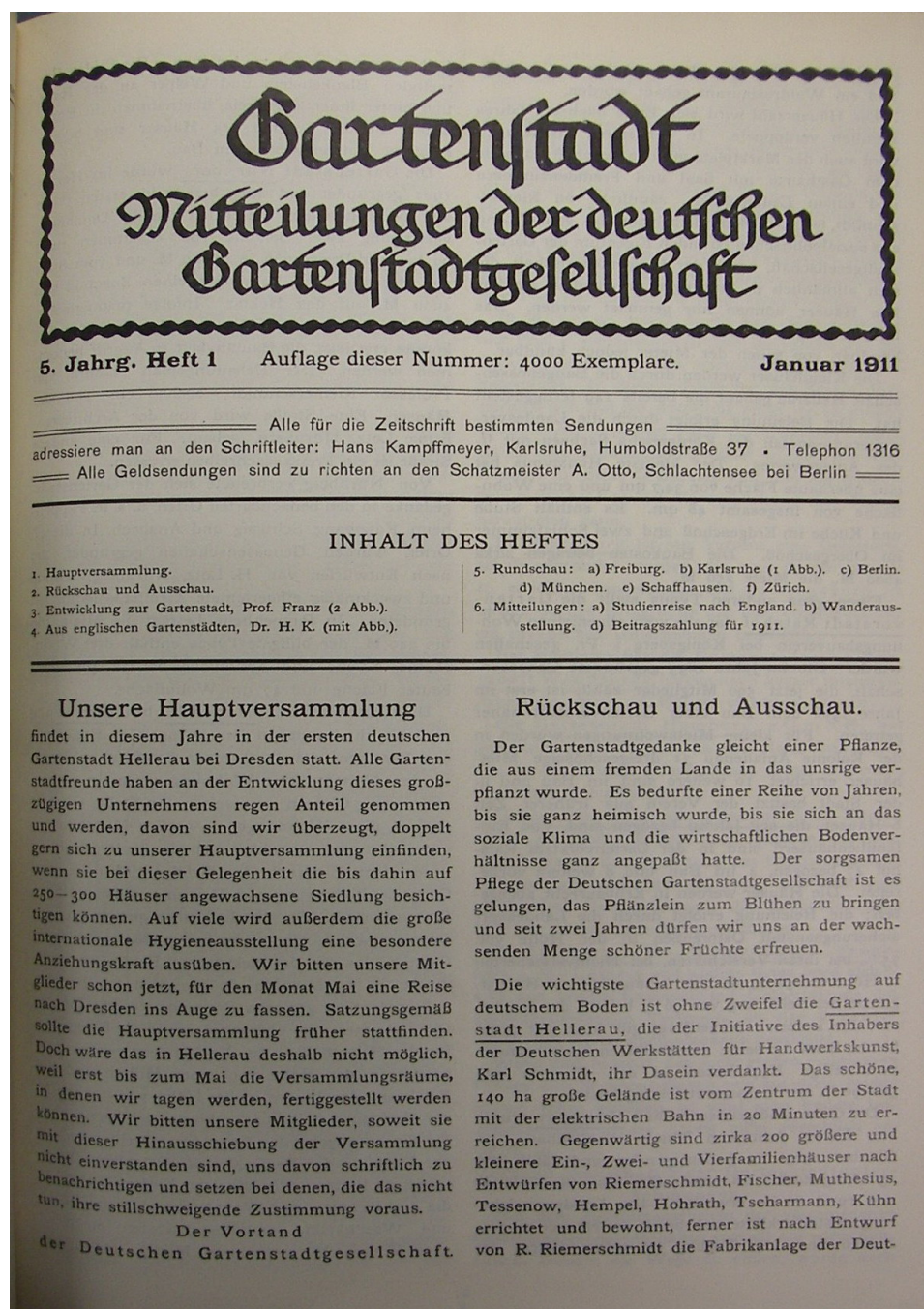


Figure 17. First page of the January 1911 issue of *Gartenstadt*, the official magazine of the DGG. *Gartenstadt* was published between 1906 and 1931.

its intensive gardening practices.<sup>22</sup> In fact, Peter Kropotkin hailed Jersey as model of efficient land use in *Fields, Factories and Workshops* (1899).<sup>23</sup> Bernhard felt strongly that agriculture represented an integral part of the garden city and lamented the fact that few of the existing examples, either in England or in Germany (once they began to be built there), incorporated agriculture in any meaningful way.<sup>24</sup> He understood that many of the local organizations struggled to raise funds for land, necessitating a focus on housing rather than agriculture. But he also saw the garden city's emphasis on private gardens as a way to maintain an agricultural presence within densely settled urban areas.<sup>25</sup> His articles appealed to the proponents of land reform and agricultural settlements, including the Bund Deutscher Bodenreformer (Federation of German Land Reformers), the Deutsche Ansiedlungsgesellschaft (German Settlement Association) and the Ansiedlungsverein Groß-Berlin (Settlement Society of Greater Berlin), which elected Bernhard to its board in 1908.<sup>26</sup>

Hans Kampffmeyer, on the other hand, focused on the cultural and aesthetic aspects of the garden city movement, repeatedly arguing that:

We cannot value the influence of the dwelling on human spiritual life highly enough. Thousands of threads bind us with our surroundings. Consciously or unconsciously, we impress them with the stamp of our character and, conversely, we are constantly influenced by our milieu.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Paul Kampffmeyer, *Blutsverwandte deutsche Familien im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, 147.

<sup>23</sup> Kropotkin, *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, 120 and 167.

<sup>24</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, "Agrarproblem und Gartenstadt," *Gartenstadt* 1, no. 3 (1906-1907): 23.

<sup>25</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, "Innenkolonisation und Gartenstadt," 25.

<sup>26</sup> "Ansiedlungsverein »Gross-Berlin«," *Gartenstadt* 2, no. 3 (1908): 22.

<sup>27</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, "Die Gartenstadt in Ihrer Kulturellen und Wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung," 107. "Wir können den Einfluß der Wohnung aus das menschliche Seelenleben gar nicht hoch genug einschätzen. Tausend Fäden verknüpfen uns mit unserer Umgebung. Bewußt oder unbewußt drücken wir ihr den Stempel unseres Wesens auf und auf der anderen Seite stehen wir auch unter dem stetigen Einfluß unseres Milieus."

He despised the over-ornate façades and furniture found in many urban apartments, advocating instead simplicity of materials and construction consistent with what would be promoted by the *Werkbund*.<sup>28</sup> Leading lights of the Werkbund, including Hermann Muthesius, Karl Schmidt, Wolf Dohrn, Theodor Fischer and Josef August Lux, were also involved with garden cities, so it is not surprising that some overlap existed with the aesthetic principles of the DGG. As might be expected, Hans's articles particularly appealed to those interested in modern aesthetic trends, and the DGG found early support with the readers of magazines such as *Der Kunstwart* and *Hohe Warte*. The publishers of these magazines, Ferdinand Avenarius and Joseph August Lux respectively, served on the expanded board of the DGG and were instrumental in extending the reach of the DGG's propaganda. They both believed in the interrelationship of the arts and the power of art to transform society. Their magazines chronicled attempts to define a modern style suited to their era, which reflected unified cultural beliefs. The earliest pamphlet Hans wrote for the DGG, *Gartenstadt und Ästhetische Kultur* (Garden City and Aesthetic Culture), was published in 1904 and was a reworking of an article that had appeared in *Der Kunstwart* earlier the same year.<sup>29</sup> Even more importantly, *Gartenstadt* appeared as a supplement to *Hohe Warte* for three years.<sup>30</sup> Although the DGG had editorial control from the very beginning, they did not publish *Gartenstadt* independently until 1909.

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<sup>28</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, *Gartenstadt und Ästhetische Kultur*, 7 and Hans Kampffmeyer, *Die Gartenstadtbewegung*, 101-104.

<sup>29</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, *Gartenstadt und Ästhetische Kultur*, 1.

<sup>30</sup> Joseph August Lux was Austrian, but the magazine *Hohe Warte* was published in Leipzig and Vienna. He believed in a larger Germanic culture, which ideally would draw from both German and Austrian sources. Germany's strength in his view was economic, but Austria's strength was its cultural sophistication. *Hohe Warte* became the official magazine of the Bund Deutscher Architekten in 1908, the same year that Lux broke with his colleagues at the Werkbund [Mark Jarzombek, "Joseph August Lux: Werkbund Promotor, Historian of a Lost Modernity," 202-208].

Hans's education directly influenced his role within the DGG and the propaganda he wrote. After graduating from gymnasium in 1896, Hans took courses in architecture at a number of institutions, including the Königliche Bayerische Technische Hochschule in Munich and the Königliche Technische Hochschule in Hannover. In the late 1890s, he was diagnosed with tuberculosis and, following the advice of his doctor to spend more time out of doors, began to study horticulture and garden architecture, first at the Königlich Sächsischen Forstakademie in Tharandt and then at the Königliche Sächsische Technische Hochschule in Dresden.<sup>31</sup> In 1902, after gaining some practical experience in Berlin and Leipzig, he worked briefly for a large landscape architecture firm in Paris. He became enmeshed in the Paris artistic scene and rented an atelier with his friend Erich Stephani, whom he had met in Dresden and who would later design the logo of the DGG (Figure 18).<sup>32</sup> The two friends traveled through Morocco in 1903 and dreamed of starting a reform art school, with Erich in charge of the *Zeichnerische* or graphic part of the curriculum and Hans in charge of color theory. Hans followed Stephani to Karlsruhe in 1905, where they both took courses in painting at the Kunstakademie.<sup>33</sup> While Hans would remain involved in the arts, his work with the DGG stimulated an interest in political economy. He studied at the Grossherzoglich Badische Ruprecht-Karls-Universität in Heidelberg from 1908 to 1910, taking courses with the political economist Alfred Weber. He completed his studies with a dissertation entitled *Die Entwicklung eines modernen Industrieortes* (The Development of

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<sup>31</sup> School certificates and diplomas [Kampffmeyer Family Papers, Ute Hamann].

<sup>32</sup> Kristiana Hartmann, "Wir wollen andere Lebenswelten," 23. Hartmann quotes a brief biography at the end of Hans Kampffmeyer's dissertation as the source for this information. However, no copy of the dissertation that I could find included the biography. The logo of the DGG consists of a heroic male nude placing homes into a tree-filled garden landscape. The image epitomizes many of the themes borrowed from the Neue Gemeinschaft, including communion with nature, but also bears a striking resemblance to the heroic nudes of Weimar era propaganda (see the chapter entitled "Bodies and Sex" in Eric Weitz's *Weimar Germany: Promises and Tragedy*).

<sup>33</sup> Irmel Roth, "Ergänzter Lebenslauf von Hans Kampffmeyer," *Familienbriefe und ergänzter Lebenslauf*, ed. Irmel Roth, 2-4 [Kampffmeyer Family Papers, Ute Hamann].

a Modern Industrial Locality, 1910), which drew lessons for a national industrial settlement policy from the development of the city of Rheinfelden. Hans published a few articles based on his dissertation in *Gartenstadt* but soon afterwards would take a position with the Badische Landeswohnungsverein (State Housing Association of Baden), which necessitated a reduced involvement with the daily activities of the DGG.

In general, the articles in *Gartenstadt* addressed the multitude of reformers and average citizens who desired better living conditions in the cities, especially in working-class quarters.<sup>34</sup> The democratic impulses of the DGG found expression in an early pamphlet by Hans entitled *Gartenstadt und Ästhetische Kultur* (1904). Here, he argued that the housing question constituted the most important point of contact between aesthetic concerns and those of doctors, ethicists and economists. In simple terms, all of these groups advocated the creation of spacious, well-lit, well-ventilated and well-designed rooms from the standpoint of their respective disciplines and claimed that these changes, if accomplished, would benefit everyone, no matter their social standing. Hans went on to declare that the development of a coherent contemporary style reflective of changing societal conditions – an idea repeatedly called for by artists and architects at the turn of the century – would only be found when “aesthetic culture is not the prerogative of a privileged minority but pervades all social classes.”<sup>35</sup> Readers could find ample additional evidence of this outlook in *Gartenstadt*, as many issues included articles on the misery

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<sup>34</sup> *Korrespondenz der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft*, no. 17 (October 21, 1905) [Magistratskaten MA S2.263, Bd. II, no. 70, Institut für Stadtgeschichte (Frankfurt)]. “Soll die Gartenstadt zur Lösung der Arbeiterwohnungsfrage beitragen – und das ist ihr Ausgangspunkt – so sind eine weitsichtige Bodenpolitik und eine soziale Behandlung der Bodenfrage die Kardinalpunkte.”

<sup>35</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, *Gartenstadt und Ästhetische Kultur*, 5. “Dann aber sind sie auch von der Ueberzeugung durchdrungen, dass unsere rasch bewegte Gegenwart nur dann zu einem eigenen Stil, zu einer eigenen grossen Kunst gelangen kann, wenn ästhetische Kultur nicht das Vorrecht einer bevorzugten Minorität bleibt, sondern alle Bevölkerungsklassen durchdringt.”

of housing conditions in German cities and the deleterious effects of cramped apartments filled with a chaotic mess of overly ornamented furniture.<sup>36</sup>

While the members of the DGG were greatly concerned with housing the working class, they did not desire a leveling of the social classes. Instead, they envisioned harmonious settlements in which members of all social classes lived together peacefully. They celebrated the fact that many of the incipient *Ortsgruppen* (local chapters) contained members from several different social classes and believed that living in cooperative communities would fundamentally change the tenor of social interaction.<sup>37</sup> As not enough garden cities had been constructed to effect this change, they could only extrapolate from the efforts of other reform movements. In particular, they looked to the *Baugenossenschaften* or building societies, which they viewed as having a positive effect on the interaction of the classes. In an article published in the December 1910 issue of *Gartenstadt*, the author, Dr. Albrecht, claimed that, in the projects built by the *Baugenossenschaften*, workers came into contact with members of the educated classes and property owners who thought of something beyond their own material advancement, while the upper classes learned to understand the needs and desires of the workers. The end result, according to the article, was a reduction in class tension due to increased familiarity and to the fact that the housing produced by the building societies met the minimum needs of all the classes.<sup>38</sup> The DGG expected that the garden cities would be able to expand on the successes of

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<sup>36</sup> Ludwig Feuth's article "Reichsmetropole und Gartenstadt," *Gartenstadt* 3, no. 5 (1909): 65-66, is an excellent instance of the first topic, while Leberecht Migge's article "Mehr Ökonomie," *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 10 (October 1910): 109-113, calling for economy and simplicity exemplifies the latter.

<sup>37</sup> "Rundschau, Karlsruhe," *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 1 (January 1911): 12. The author emphasizes that from the beginning, *Gartenstadtgenossenschaft Karlsruhe* possessed members from the working class, government workers and members of free professions such as artists and professors.

<sup>38</sup> Dr. H. Albrecht, "Was kann das Genossenschaftswesen zur Lösung der Wohnungsfrage beitragen?" *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 12 (December 1910): 134. Here Dr. Albrecht quotes the work of Voßberg, another expert on *Baugenossenschaften*.

the individual building societies because, in addition to the benefits already discussed, the garden cities offered extended exposure to a society based upon cooperative endeavors. Hans Kampffmeyer viewed this exposure as the best education future citizens could receive in that it would teach them what could be achieved by working together rather than against one other.<sup>39</sup>

These limited references to the propaganda shaped by the Kampffmeyer cousins reveal a profound commitment to better living conditions and educational opportunities for low-income families, a commitment echoed by actions in their personal lives. Before helping to found the DGG, Bernhard had been deeply involved with the Freie Volksbühne's efforts to provide aesthetic education to working-class families in Berlin. He transferred his energies to the DGG after its founding in 1902 and continued to promote the organization until the 1930s. Hans demonstrated an equal concern for the less fortunate members of society. According to family lore, he briefly worked for a Paris landscape architecture firm managing the layout of a park in Elboeuf but quit his position in solidarity with the workers, who had not received a promised increase in pay.<sup>40</sup> More importantly, he received no salary for his work as general secretary of the DGG (1906-1912) and editor of *Gartenstadt* (1906 – September 1909 and March 1910 – July 1911), despite the long hours worked and the numerous trips that took him away from his family for several weeks out of every month. He survived on a small inheritance and the generosity of his older brother Martin, who ran the family mill and sent money when Hans found himself short

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<sup>39</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, "Die Bedeutung der Gartenstadtbewegung für die Wohlfahrt unserer Jugend," *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 4 (April 1910): 44. This idea is yet more proof of overlap with the theories of Peter Kropotkin, whose 1902 book *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* put forth the idea that, for humans, cooperation formed as important a part of evolutionary adaptation as the competitive struggle for survival envisioned by Darwin.

<sup>40</sup> Martin Kampffmeyer (Hans's older brother) in a short untitled essay for *Das Silberhochzeitsbuch*, created by Hans and Hilde's family in celebration of their 25<sup>th</sup> wedding anniversary [Kampffmeyer Family Papers, Ute Hamann]. Kristiana Hartmann states that he was dismissed because he expressed sympathy for the workers ["Wir wollen andere Lebenswelten," 24]. The exact name of the firm is never given in these sources.

of cash.<sup>41</sup> Letters from his brothers and in-laws repeatedly expressed the hope that the DGG would pay him for his efforts or that he would find paid employment.<sup>42</sup> In 1911, he finally obtained a salaried position as the *Geschäftsführer* (business director) of the Badische Landeswohnungsverein and was able to further the goal of housing reform from within the government in Baden.<sup>43</sup>

Despite this obvious sympathy with the working classes, neither man advocated violent revolution as a means to achieve social change; they put the realization of their goals above loyalty to any political party or social class. The few extant letters written by Hans Kampffmeyer to his family reveal a free-thinking spirit and pragmatic intellect. In a letter from January of 1912, Hans described himself as a “former anarchist and current socialist” but then went on to explain why he voted for the democratic rather than the radical socialist candidate in a recent Reichstag election. He stated:

(This radical direction, incidentally, owes its strength almost exclusively to their heavy-handed treatment by the government. Every government has the social democracy that they deserve. Baden has a more restrained version than Prussia.) In this Reichstag election, I even voted for the democrat instead of the radical socialist, since I currently hold the strengthening of a socially progressive liberalism to be more important than social democracy. Social democracy is not yet ready to govern. An all too great strengthening of their left wing appears to me therefore to be undesirable. Only in the cooperation of liberalism and social democracy do I see a way out of our current difficulties....<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Hilde Kampffmeyer to Hans Kampffmeyer, 28 May 1910, *Familienbriefe 1910-1912*, ed. Irmel Roth, 33 and editor’s note, 61[Kampffmeyer Family Papers, Ute Hamann]. These letters also reveal how heavily Hans relied on Hilde to perform secretarial and editorial duties related to the publication of *Gartenstadt*. She corrected manuscripts, contacted publishers and relayed messages to Hans when he was travelling.

<sup>42</sup> Kurt Kampffmeyer to Hans Kampffmeyer, 28 January 1910 and Charlotte Fischer (Hans’s mother-in-law) to Hilde Kampffmeyer, 27 February 1911, *Familienbriefe 1910-1912*, 4 and 61

<sup>43</sup> “Rundschau, Karlsruhe,” *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 4 (April 1911): 47-48. Baden is the German state that includes the cities of Mannheim and Karlsruhe, both of which built garden cities before World War I.

<sup>44</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer to his siblings, 14 January 1912, *Familienbriefe 1910-1912*, 88. “(Diese radikale Richtung verdankt übrigens ihre Stärke fast ausschließlich der ungeschickten Behandlung durch die Regierungen. Jede Regierung hat die Socialdemokratie, die sie verdient. Baden hat viel maßvollere als Preußen.) Bei dieser Reichstagswahl habe ich sogar den Demokraten meine Stimme gegeben gegen einen radikalen Socialisten, da ich gegenwärtig der Verstärkung eines social fortschrittlichen Liberalismus fast für wichtiger halte als die der



Hans brought this same pragmatism to the role of editor of *Gartenstadt* and thus, alongside the sincere rhetoric of affordable housing for all members of society, appear arguments that appealed to a wealthier and more conservative demographic. These arguments emphasized the economic difficulties faced by the middle-class and sometimes even framed the improvement of working-class housing in terms of its benefits for the upper classes. For example, an article by an anonymous author argued that, while the housing question affected the proletariat most severely, affordable housing remained an issue for many members of the bourgeoisie as well.<sup>45</sup>

The DGG regarded speculation as the greatest economic evil facing German society due to its deleterious effect on rents.<sup>46</sup> Not surprisingly, countless authors in the pages of *Gartenstadt* assigned blame for the housing problem (and most of the other problems of the metropolis) to this speculation in land and buildings. The garden city movement proposed communal land ownership as the only way to exclude the possibility of speculation in new settlements. Because this solution sounded too much like communism for the comfort of some members, the DGG had to remind its supporters that the negative consequences of artificially inflated rents, while often an insurmountable problem for the working class, rippled outwards to affect all levels of society. High rents meant that multiple families often shared a single apartment. In turn, overcrowding in the rental barracks or *Mietskaserne* created a greater threat of epidemics like typhoid fever and tuberculosis, which did not stop at the limits of working-

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Socialdemokratie. Die Socialdemokratie ist zur Zeit noch nicht regierungsfähig. Eine allzu große Stärkung ihres linken Flügels scheint mir deshalb unerwünscht. Nur im Zusammengeh[n] [sic] von Liberalismus und Socialdemokratie sehe ich einen Ausweg aus den gegenwärtigen Nöten...

<sup>45</sup> “Die Leitung unserer Gartenstadtgenossenschaften,” *Gartenstadt* 3, no. 3 (1909): 39.

<sup>46</sup> *Die Abkehr von der Grossstadt! Hinaus auf's Land! Zur Gartenstadt!*, Flugschrift No. 3 (Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft) and Hans Kampffmeyer, “Die Gartenstadt in ihrer Kulturellen und Wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung,” 105. See also Dr. K. v. Mangoldt, “Zweierlei Rente und zweierlei Aufgaben,” 92-93. The DGG never ascribed speculation to Jewish financiers as Theodor Fritsch and other anti-Semites did.

class neighborhoods.<sup>47</sup> High rents even affected factory owners, who reduced wages and increased the price of products to compensate for the exorbitant cost of land for factories.<sup>48</sup> The garden cities could avoid these pitfalls by preventing speculation within their own boundaries; they could also ease conditions in existing cities by decreasing the demand for land there.

In a similar manner, the improvements wrought on the physical and mental health of the working class once they had homes – or at least apartments – and gardens of their own were seen to benefit society as a whole. Factory owners such as F. Dettmann, a board member of the DGG, presented the provision of decent housing as a way to bind employees to the land, viewing settled workers as less likely to engage in revolutionary activity than the restless, property-less proletariat.<sup>49</sup> Likewise, in *Die Gartenstadtbewegung* (The Garden City Movement), Hans Kampffmeyer reported on the increased productivity of workers in Port Sunlight - an industrial village that was an oft-cited predecessor of the English garden city movement - clearly making the point that the construction of garden cities benefited both the inhabitants and local employers.<sup>50</sup> In addition, he argued that, due to healthier living conditions, the workers in such settlements would get sick less frequently, which would reduce the money it was necessary to spend on hospitals and sanitariums and would simultaneously reduce the need for society to support the workers and their families financially when they were infirm.<sup>51</sup> Kampffmeyer also used statistics regarding children in Port Sunlight and Liverpool to prove the health advantages

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<sup>47</sup> “Wohnung und Tuberkulosesterblichkeit,” *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 5 (January 1910): 58. The threat of disease had personal implications for the middle-class Kampffmeyers as Hans suffered from tuberculosis and his brother had died of the disease.

<sup>48</sup> G. Helmerichs, “Neues Industrieland und Gartenstadt,” *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 5 (January 1910): 55.

<sup>49</sup> F. Dettmann, “Versuch zur Gründung einer Gartenvorstadt in Güstrow i. Meckl.,” *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 5 (May 1911): 52.

<sup>50</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, *Die Gartenstadtbewegung*, 11.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, 78. See also Albert Kohn, “Arbeiterversicherung und Gartenstadt,” in *Die Deutsche Gartenstadt-Bewegung*, 93-94.

of living in a lower density environment like those offered by the garden cities. According to Dr. Arkle, the Liverpool physician who conducted the study quoted by Hans, the children of workers in Port Sunlight were both taller and stronger than children of the same age born to wealthy Liverpool *Bürger*.<sup>52</sup> The implication was that workers in garden cities had a better quality of life than their wealthier counterparts in existing metropolises. Other, more nationalistic contributors to *Gartenstadt* framed the decline in health among the urban poor in military terms and worried about Germany's ability to field an army. These supporters happily embraced evidence of the garden city movement's positive effect on the inhabitants' health.<sup>53</sup> These examples are not meant to give undue weight to the conservative elements within the German garden city movement, but rather to show the pragmatism of the Kampffmeyers in their attempts to appeal to the broadest possible audience.

The pamphlets and articles, while invaluable sources of information, were not the only methods that the DGG used to spread their message. The monthly magazine was supplemented by occasional books such as *Die Deutsche Gartenstadtbewegung* (1909), which chronicled the practical endeavors of the German movement, or *Bauordnung und Bebauungsplan: Ihre Bedeutung für die Gartenstadtbewegung* (Building Regulations and Master Plans: Their Meaning for the Garden City Movement, 1911), which addressed the importance of appropriate building regulations and a unified city plan for the garden city. Still more important for the recruitment of new members was the intensive program of lectures given mostly by members of

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<sup>52</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, "Die Bedeutung der Gartenstadtbewegung für die Wohlfahrt unserer Jugend," 43. Similar statistics are cited in George Cadbury's greeting to the members of the DGG's study trip to England in 1909, published in *Aus englischen Gartenstädte: Beobachtungen u. Ergebnisse einer Sozialen Studienreise* (Berlin-Grünwald: Renaissance-Verlag Robert Federn, 1910), 20.

<sup>53</sup> Ludwig Feuth, "Reichsmetropole und Gartenstadt," 66. These conservative supporters often speak of a "degeneration of the race" as the result of horrible urban housing conditions. While this phrase would find echoes in Nazi propaganda, there is no anti-Semitic implication in the publications of the DGG. The authors are not decrying mixed marriages but rather describing the negative health effects of urban living on all Germans, especially the workers.

the board. In order to promulgate a consistent message and also to reduce the costs associated with the lectures, the DGG produced a pamphlet entitled *Die Gartenstadt in Wort und Bild* (The Garden City in Words and Images, 1906), which laid out some basic talking points and even suggested a range of accompanying images for speakers to use (Figure 18). The DGG then compiled sets of slides, which they lent out to members and supporters who wished to give lectures on the garden city.<sup>54</sup>

More importantly, Hans Kampffmeyer traversed the country giving several lectures a month to receptive organizations and associations. He usually tailored his standard lecture to the interests of the host group. In January of 1909, for example, Hans addressed the Verein für soziale Reform (Society for Social Reform) in Bremen, where he spoke on the topic of “Kunst und Volkswirtschaft” (Art and Political Economy). In this speech, he emphasized the garden city as a point of intersection between the seemingly disparate fields of art and political economy and focused on the artistic consideration of public buildings such as baths and halls of assembly, which were crucial to the garden-city conception of community and which provided forums for public discussion and political action.<sup>55</sup> Likewise, in a lecture entitled “Die Gartenstadt-bewegung in ihrer Bedeutung für die Bekämpfung des Alkoholismus” (The Garden City Movement and Its Meaning for the Struggle Against Alcoholism), he tied the prevalence of alcoholism among the working class to the horrible living conditions of apartments in the rental barracks.

For the narrowness of the rooms and the complete bleakness and unfriendliness of these cubes, which are piled by the hundreds around close, airless courtyards, makes the carefree enjoyment of the hours free from work or a dignified sociability impossible. In these rooms, overfilled with people and objects, the

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<sup>54</sup> Some of these slides came from sources such as Paul Schultze-Naumburg and Herman Muthesius as evidenced by letters requesting images. See, for example, Adolf Otto to Hermann Muthesius, 25 May 1904 [Sammlung Deutscher Werkbund, Nachlaß Hermann Muthesius, Werkbundarchiv Berlin].

<sup>55</sup> “Vorträge,” *Gartenstadt* 3, no. 3 (January 1909): 42.

housewife leads a heroic, but, in most cases, losing battle against disorder and squalidness. The air is filled with the smells of cooking and cleaning and the odor of drying diapers. The family members are crowded together in the narrow space. When the man comes home tired from work, he finds no comfortable nook in which to sit with his newspaper or his book. No wonder that he – and sometimes his wife – finds relaxation outside the home.... Thus the bar becomes the living room of those classes who suffer under the weight of this housing affliction.<sup>56</sup>

Hans even managed to link alcohol consumption to the larger problem of land speculation by implying that breweries and taverns often worked in collaboration with speculators in developing new colonies or districts.<sup>57</sup> The garden cities, by giving people decent housing, eliminating taverns and supporting alternative forms of entertainment such as lectures or concerts, would eliminate the problem of alcoholism within their boundaries.<sup>58</sup> While temperance was certainly not the most important aspect - nor even a universally agreed upon component - of the propaganda of the DGG, its very inclusion reveals the prevalence of a distinctly middle-class, paternalistic morality within the German garden city movement. The same people who worried about alcohol consumption blamed living conditions in big cities for a general decline in morality. They fretted over the presence of *Schlafgänger* or boarders in working-class apartments, both because of the supposed disruption it caused for the cohesion of the family unit

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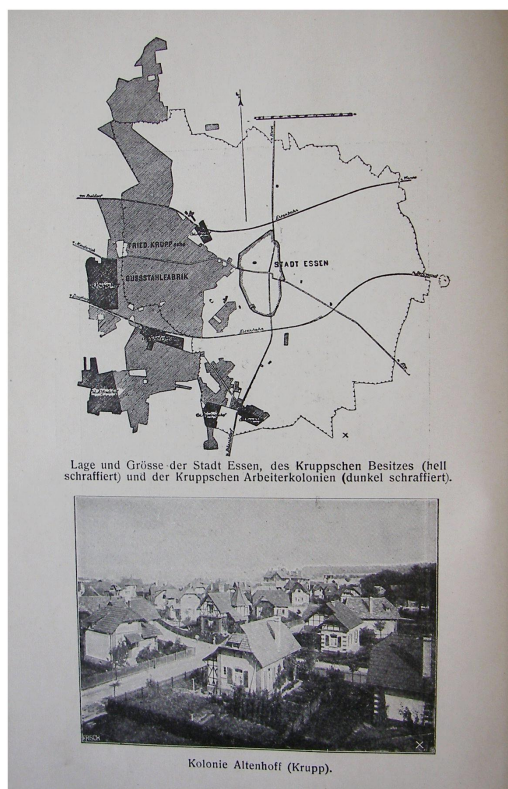
<sup>56</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, *Die Gartenstadtbewegung in ihrer Bedeutung für die Bekämpfung des Alkoholismus* (Reutlingen: Mimir, Verlag für deutsche Kultur und soziale Hygiene), 5. “Denn die Beschränktheit der Räume und die ganze Öde und Unfreundlichkeit dieser Luftkuben, die zu Hunderten um enge, dumpfe Höfe getürmt werden, machen einen heiteren Genuss der arbeitsfreien Stunden, eine würdige Geselligkeit unmöglich. In den mit Menschen und Gegenständen überfüllten Räumen führt die Hausfrau einen herrischen aber vielfach sieglosen Kampf gegen Unordnung und Unsauberkeit. Die Luft ist erfüllt von Gerüchen des Kochtopfes und Waschzubers und von den Düften der trocknenden Windeln. Im engen Raum drängen sich die Familienmitglieder geräuschvoll zusammen. Wenn der Mann dann ermüdet von der Arbeit kommt, findet er kein gemütliches Plätzchen, an dem er sich mit seiner Zeitung, mit seinem Buch hinsetzen kann. Was wunder, wenn er und manchmal auch die Frau ihre Erholung ausserhalb ihres Heims suchen.... So wird die Kneipe die gute Stube der unter dem Wohnungselend leidenden Bevölkerungsschichten.”

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 7.



Figure 18. Flugschrift No. 7. The cover of this pamphlet featured the logo of the DGG, which was designed by Erich Stephani. It draws on themes of heroic nudity and connection to the land that were common in the *Heimatschutz* movement and would be co-opted by the Nazis. The pages on the bottom illustrate sample images from the model lecture. On the left is the workers' settlement Kolonie Althenhof built for the Krupp Firm outside Essen and on the right, two-family houses in Bournville, England.



and because of the possibility of intimate interactions between young, unmarried men and women.<sup>59</sup> This middle-class morality also accounts for the apocryphal stories of the impact of better surroundings on the workers of Port Sunlight, who initially lived in the same squalor as they did in the slums but who supposedly transformed their living habits and the cleanliness of their dwellings within a couple of years after moving to the settlement.<sup>60</sup> The DGG desired better living conditions for their own sake and for the moral transformation that they believed would ensue.

Hans Kampffmeyer and other members of the board gave similarly customized lectures to a multitude of organizations and unions across Germany, including the Verein für Heimatschutz (Society for Preservation of the Homeland), the Kunstgewerbeverein (Applied Arts Society) in Königsberg, the Verein für Gesundheitspflege (Society for Healthcare) in Kiel and the Verein deutscher Gartenkünstler (Society of German Garden Designers).<sup>61</sup> These lectures had a two-fold purpose for the DGG. Most obviously, they helped increase the ranks of the DGG, as each lecture garnered a few new members. Membership rosters from the earliest years of the DGG's existence reveal just how varied the organization's membership was (see Appendix A). Men and women joined from cities and towns all over Germany, and even from places as far flung as New York City. The majority of members had at least a passing interest in aesthetic or social reform. Important contingents included bureaucrats, especially those that ran

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<sup>59</sup> Wilhelm Eckstein, "Wirtshaus oder Reformgasthaus," *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 2 (February 1910): 17.

<sup>60</sup> W. v. Gizycki, "Der Wert des Hausgartens für die Volksgesundheit," *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 10 (October 1911): 139.

<sup>61</sup> "Vorträge," *Gartenstadt* 3, no. 3 (January 1909): 44 and Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, *Geschäfts-Bericht 1904-1905*, 8. Representatives of the DGG gave no less than 70 lectures during the fiscal year 1906-1907 ["Aus der Gartenstadt-bewegung," *Gartenstadt* 1, no. 6 (1906-1907): 44].

municipal building departments, and doctors interested in improving hygiene in urban areas.<sup>62</sup>

Not many architects or urban planners joined before 1906, but those that did were highly influential; they included Herman Muthesius, Richard Riemerschmid, Heinrich Tessenow and Theodor Goecke.<sup>63</sup> Professors, painters, authors and lawyers also joined in significant numbers. Most of the members were not particularly famous, but some well-known names included prominent supporters of the arts like Karl Ernst Osthaus and progressive factory owners, such as Karl Schmidt, head of the Deutsche Werkstätten and founder of Hellerau, and Anna Zanders, owner of a paper mill and founder of Gartensiedlung Gronauerwald.

The lectures also helped the DGG lay the groundwork for reciprocal relationships with the host organizations. Following the lead of the English garden city movement, the DGG supported measures that did not lead directly to the creation of garden cities but whose success would make their own work easier.<sup>64</sup> For example, the DGG believed that governmental bodies would never embrace experimental forms of settlement or land ownership unless a successful model existed to convince them of the feasibility of those measures. For this reason, the DGG emphasized the creation of viable garden cities through private initiative, hoping that government would then support the further creation of garden cities.<sup>65</sup> Even as they strove to realize their own goals, however, the DGG supported the efforts of the land reformers to change

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<sup>62</sup> Doctors counted for approximately 10 of the 158 members for the period 1902-1904, 14 of 180 members for the fiscal year 1904-1905, and 24 of 415 members for the fiscal year 1905-1906. City officials numbered approximately 6 out of 158 for between 1902-1904, 11 of 415 for 1905-1906 and 65 out of 415 for 1905-1906.

<sup>63</sup> Just five of the 158 members during the years 1902 to 1904 were architects, though more were involved in engineering or civil services related to architecture. The number of architects increased slightly to 7 of 180 members during 1904-1905 and to 22 of 415 during 1905-1906. However, many important figures served on the expanded board of the DGG in an advisory capacity. There, architects directly involved with the planning and building of garden cities were joined by men such as Peter Behrens, Joseph Maria Olbrich, Reinhard Baumeister and Joseph Stübbens.

<sup>64</sup> *Korrespondenz der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft*, no. 8. (May 20, 1904), 1 [Magistratskaten MA S2.263, Bd. II, no. 51, Institut für Stadtgeschichte (Frankfurt)].

<sup>65</sup> Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, *Geschäfts-Bericht 1902-1904*, 3.



patterns of land ownership through legislative measures. While the battles to change legal standards were slow and protracted, the success of these reforms would eliminate many of the difficulties the DGG had in acquiring land for garden cities.<sup>66</sup>

Lectures given by Hans Kampffmeyer were also instrumental in the formation of local chapters or *Ortsgruppen* of the DGG. Hans tirelessly promoted the DGG, sending letters to government officials offering to give lectures on the establishment of garden cities. Where government officials were not directly responsible for the founding of local chapters, Hans issued formal invitations to attend meetings, hoping to inspire further governmental involvement.<sup>67</sup> In the 1905-1906 annual report, the board acknowledged his hard work and the success of his efforts, noting that membership had doubled during the course of the fiscal year, rising from 200 to 400 members, and that the majority of these new members came from newly founded *Ortsgruppen*. In Karlsruhe, for example, where Hans Kampffmeyer lived and worked towards the establishment of Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, the membership climbed from 4 to 150 members.<sup>68</sup>

Hans met with similar success in Mannheim, where he was instrumental in the founding of the local garden city. As early as 1906, he gave a lecture entitled “Wohnungsfrage und Gartenstadt” (The Housing Question and the Garden City) to a meeting of the Nationalsoziale Verein Mannheim, the local chapter of Friedrich Naumann’s National Social Party. The local paper reported favorably upon the lecture and urged the government to intervene in the housing

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<sup>66</sup> J. Latscha, “Mehr baureifes Land,” *Gartenstadt*, 4, no. 2 (February 1910): 13-14.

<sup>67</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer to unknown government official, October 15, 1909 [Magistratskaten MA S2.263, Bd. II, no. 129, Institut für Stadtgeschichte (Frankfurt)].

<sup>68</sup> Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, *Jahres-Bericht 1905-1906* (October 1906), 3 [Magistratskaten MA S2.263, Bd. II, no. 86, Institut für Stadtgeschichte (Frankfurt)]. Approximately 8 of those were architects or students of architecture (see Appendix A).

problem by taking steps to control rising land prices and rents.<sup>69</sup> Three years later, at the end of 1909, Hans met directly with government officials in Mannheim to enlist their help in the creation of a garden city.<sup>70</sup> He then spoke to a number of interest groups in the city. In June of 1910, he lectured to an invited group of fifty representatives of labor. The discussion following the lecture was so intense that it had to be continued the following week, but in the end, the workers pledged their support to the soon to be founded Gartenstadt-Genossenschaft Mannheim.<sup>71</sup> That same summer, Hans also spoke at the yearly meeting of the Mannheimer Fabrikantenvereins (Mannheim Association of Factory Owners), and, based on the response to his lecture, he eagerly expected the involvement of the organization in the realization of Gartenstadt Mannheim.<sup>72</sup> Hans's lectures inspired the founding of other *Ortsgruppen* such as Magdeburg, while the chapters at Chemnitz, Bonn and Hüttenau invited him to give the keynote address at their inaugural meetings.<sup>73</sup>

Clearly, much had changed for the DGG by 1910. People who previously had laughed at the representatives of the DGG for being “kind-hearted utopians” now took them seriously. Municipalities consulted the organization when setting up cooperatives to build garden cities and

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<sup>69</sup> “Wohnungsfrage und Gartenstadt,” *General Anzeiger* 212 (May 8, 1906): 6.

<sup>70</sup> “Rundschau,” *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 10 (October 1910): 119.

<sup>71</sup> “Die Gartenstadtbewegung in Mannheim,” *General Anzeiger* 285 (June 24, 1910): 3 and *General Anzeiger* 296 (June 30, 1910): 5. The members of the *Ortsgruppe* consisted of all those interested in the idea of the garden city. The *Gartenstadtgenossenschaften* were responsible for construction, and members had to purchase shares to support their endeavors and gain the chance of acquiring a house in the settlement.

<sup>72</sup> “Rundschau,” *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 8 (August 1910): 96. No information exists as to whether that support materialized.

<sup>73</sup> Many of the fledgling *Ortsgruppen* followed the lead of the DGG and began their activities with a propaganda campaign. Hermann Muthesius and Franz Oppenheimer gave lectures to members of the newly founded *Ortsgruppe Berlin* [“Rundschau,” *Gartenstadt* 3, no. 7 (1909): 107]. In Mannheim, the *Gartenvorstadt-Genossenschaft Mannheim* partnered with the *Verein für Volksbildung* or Association for National Education to organize a lecture series on the garden city.

suburbs.<sup>74</sup> Certainly, the lecture series and the publications contributed to these changes in public opinion. However, exhibitions and study trips – items not included in the comprehensive propaganda plan – also helped to lend the movement an aura of legitimacy.

Hans Kampffmeyer created a *Wanderausstellung* or traveling exhibition based on trips he took throughout England and Germany to study developments in housing. The exhibition included urban plans of Letchworth along with English and German workers' colonies such as those erected by the Krupp corporation outside Essen. It also incorporated photographs, drawings and models of housing groups and individual buildings within these settlements.<sup>75</sup> The exhibition allowed a more in-depth exploration of the garden cities and their precursors than was possible in the lectures and was immensely popular. Beginning in 1906, it traveled to at least thirty-eight cities in Germany including Leipzig, Berlin, Worms, Mannheim, Hamburg, Karlsruhe, Ludwigshafen, Barmen, Stuttgart, Görlitz, and Freiburg. In fact, two versions had to be created in order to accommodate all the requests for the exhibition.<sup>76</sup> The displays also traveled outside Germany, to Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Zurich, Warsaw and Prague, helping to bolster fledgling garden city movements in these countries.<sup>77</sup> Hans made sure to schedule lectures in conjunction with the exhibitions and exploited local press coverage to increase public interest in the movement. The shows were successful in this regard and helped to swell the ranks of the DGG. In Mannheim, the exhibition was co-sponsored by the newly founded local *Genossenschaft*, and in Karlsruhe, approximately 6,000 people visited the exhibition, resulting in

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<sup>74</sup> “Rückschau und Ausschau,” *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 1 (January 1911): 5.

<sup>75</sup> Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, *Jahres-Bericht 1905-1906*, 12.

<sup>76</sup> “Aus der Gartenstadtbewegung—Deutschland,” *Gartenstadt*, no. 6 (1906): 44; “Wanderausstellung,” *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 8 (August 1910), back cover; and “Rückschau und Ausschau,” 4.

<sup>77</sup> “10. Generalversammlung der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft,” *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 10 (October 1912): 170.

over 160 new members.<sup>78</sup> The traveling exhibition was supplemented by smaller, independent displays devoted to the plans for the local garden cities, which were produced by the individual chapters in places such as Karlsruhe and Berlin. Not surprisingly Hans Kampffmeyer organized the Karlsruhe exhibition, enlisting the help of Emil Behnisch – a close friend who lived with the Kampffmeyer family for a few months in 1910 and who would take over as general secretary and editor of *Gartenstadt* in July of 1911 – to build models of the proposed buildings.<sup>79</sup>

The DGG utilized the *Studienreise* (study tours) in a similar manner, hoping to convince participants of the feasibility of the movement through exposure to successful built examples in England. The members of the DGG generally looked to England as a model in the realms of housing reform and consumer cooperatives. In particular, they approved of the English propensity for building low-rise, single-family homes rather than the multi-story *Mietskaserne* (rental barracks) favored by German developers. Despite the equally disruptive process of industrialization endured by the English, the single-family home remained the norm, in part due to the progressive transportation policies adopted in English cities; the German reformers held up these English examples of low-rise housing as proof of the economic feasibility of their own endeavors.<sup>80</sup>

Bernhard Kampffmeyer and Adolf Otto created an illustrated brochure to advertise the study tours (Figure 19) and sent copies to the members of the DGG, as well as to city officials and the representatives of like-minded organizations. They asked organizations, such as the Mitteldeutscher Kunstgewerbe-Verein (Central German Applied Arts Association), to publicize

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<sup>78</sup> “Rundschau,” *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 10 (October 1910): 119; “Rückschau und Ausschau,” *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 1 (January 1911): 4.

<sup>79</sup> Hilde Kampffmeyer to Hans Kampffmeyer, 5 June 1910, *Familienbriefe 1910-1912*, ed. Irmel Roth, 35.

<sup>80</sup> “Aus englischen Gartenstädten,” *Gartenstadt* 7, no. 5 (May 1913): 78.

Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft
Abteilung: Soziale Studentenfeste

Prospekt

zur VI. sozialen Studienreise nach England.

Ein Mensch würde bald seine Zeit auf fast allen Gebieten des öffentlichen und wirtschaftlichen Lebens gewandt man eine einzige Tätigkeit. Die soziale Hygiene, die Bestrebungen zur Bekämpfung des Alkoholismus...

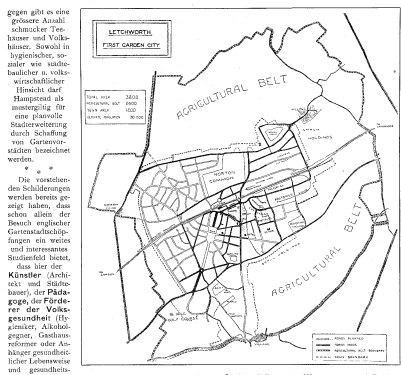
Unsere Studierenden sollen die wichtigsten Vorlesungen dieser neuen Bewegung zur Kenntnis bringen...

Die englische Bauernschaftsbewegung, gründen sich von den deutschen wegen der Ähnlichkeit der Zustände...

Magazin-Beilage Nr. 122 vom 25. 4. 11.

Table with 5 columns: Name des Unternehmens, Höhe des Gehalts, Zahl der Häuser nach vorigem Anbau, Vermögen 1910, Wenn die Siedlung angestrebt ist, sind dies die Werte.

Der beispielhafte Erfolg, den diese Tabelle zeigt, beruht einmal, wie bereits gesagt, auf dem Prinzip der Vermengung...



Die vorstehenden Schilderungen werden bereits gezeigt haben, dass schon allein der Besuch englischer Gartenstadtanlagen ein weites und interessantes Studienfeld bietet...



LITERATUR. Als englisches Gartenstädtchen. Beobachtungen und Erlebnisse einer sozialen Studentenfeste...

Figure 19. Pages from the brochure for the sixth study tour of England.

the event to their own members, thereby increasing the reach of the propaganda.<sup>81</sup> The brochures laid out the itinerary for the tour, which was based upon a trip that Hans and Bernhard Kampffmeyer had taken in 1903.<sup>82</sup>

The itinerary included many of the settlements featured in the DGG's traveling exhibition, most notably Letchworth, the first English garden city, and a number of the workers' colonies that were viewed as precursors of Howard's idea, such as Earswick, Port Sunlight and Bournville. The DGG viewed these workers' colonies as aesthetic models for German garden cities and also applauded the fact that habitation was not restricted to workers of the respective companies nor tied to employment in the nearby factory. In fact, at Earswick, the factory owner, Joseph Rowntree, had gone so far as to cede ownership to an independent trust, which controlled the finances of the settlement. The participants also visited government housing projects built by the London City Council and by the city of Manchester as well as items of historical interest like the cathedral and old city walls in York. At each stop, the travelers were greeted by the mayor or an equivalent dignitary, such as Mr. Lever, the owner of Sunlight Soap Works and the workers' colony of Port Sunlight. Many of the settlements provided meals and entertainment for their guests, allowing for more intimate interactions between the members of the study tour and their English hosts (Figures 20-21).<sup>83</sup> The exact itinerary of the first trip, taken in 1909, was as follows:

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<sup>81</sup> Correspondence between the DGG and the Mitteldeutscher Kunstgewerbe – Verein E.V., 10 and 28 February 1912 [Museum für Kunsthandwerk 4, Akten des Mitteldeutschen Kunstgewerbe-Vereins, no. 237, 245, Institut für Stadtgeschichte (Frankfurt)].

<sup>82</sup> Lucie Gewiese (Hans's aunt) to Hans Kampffmeyer, 7 December 1903, *Familienbriefe und ergänzter Lebenslauf*, ed. Irmel Roth, 31. The DGG ran their itinerary past Muthesius, who promised to provide suggestions for further places to visit in Manchester and Birmingham [Herman Muthesius to Adolf Otto, 27 November 1908, Sammlung Deutscher Werkbund, Nachlaß Hermann Muthesius, Werkbundarchiv Berlin].

<sup>83</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, "Unsere Soziale Studienreise nach England," in *Aus englischen Gartenstädten*, 5-9.

July 6<sup>th</sup>—meet in Rotterdam  
 July 7<sup>th</sup>—York and New Earswick  
 July 8<sup>th</sup>—Manchester (including Blackley Estates, a new housing estate outside the city)  
 July 9<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup>—Liverpool and Port Sunlight (included a free afternoon which some  
     guests used to visit the nearby town of Chester)  
 July 11<sup>th</sup>—Birmingham  
 July 12<sup>th</sup>—Harborne and Bournville  
 July 12<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup>—London (including Bourne Estate built by the London County  
     Council)  
 July 13<sup>th</sup>—Letchworth  
 July 14<sup>th</sup>—Hampstead Garden Suburb  
 July 16<sup>th</sup>—Richmond

The DGG received an unexpectedly enthusiastic response to their brochure, with over three hundred people expressing interest in the first tour. Due to logistical difficulties, they could accommodate only two hundred participants, but they offered a version of this tour at least six more times over the next few years.<sup>84</sup> As might be expected, many of the participants were architects or landscape architects. Attendees from these professions included Ludwig Lesser, later the landscape architect of Gartenstadt Falkenberg; Georg Metzendorf, who would design Gartenstadt Hüttenau and Margaretenhöhe bei Essen; and Ludwig Mies, later known as Mies van der Rohe. The DGG encouraged the participation of other professions as well, and, as a result, a number of professors, engineers, magazine editors and government officials also attended. In other words, the participants consisted of the people who would have the power to shape housing projects and settlements upon their return to Germany. We know, for example, that the mayor of Alt-Glienicke, where Gartenstadt Falkenberg was located, participated in a study tour in the summer of 1913.<sup>85</sup> Rosemarie Bletter credits this trip with convincing the town to provide the variances in street width that Taut requested for the settlement, reducing the proposed widths of

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid, 5. In the late 1920s, the DGG offered study trips to France, the Netherlands and Belgium, but these tours did not have as great an influence on the built work of the DGG since much of the funding for garden cities dried up after World War I.

<sup>85</sup> “Rundschau. Berlin,” *Gartenstadt* 7, no. 9 (September 1913): 186.



Figure 20. Welcome gate at the Garden Village of New Earswick. The sign reads “a heartfelt welcome to our German cousins.”



Figure 21. Participants of the 1909 study tour enjoying a meal in the auditorium at Port Sunlight. Onstage, children from the community perform a maypole dance.



the streets considerably.<sup>86</sup> There were also a striking number of participants from Poland, Russia and Bohemia, indicating the role that the DGG played in popularizing the garden city movement in central and eastern Europe.<sup>87</sup>

Capitalizing upon the success of the study tours, the DGG published a book of essays entitled *Aus englischen Gartenstädten* (Of English Garden Cities) in 1910. The essays explored housing conditions in England, especially advances in company towns and municipal housing, and also compared English and German institutions, such as building societies. The authors looked to extract lessons for the German situation from English endeavors and to make those lessons available to a wider audience than could afford to participate in the study tours directly. The influence did not flow in only one direction, however. In 1911, members of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association participated in a study tour of western Germany, visiting the workers' colonies of the Krupp corporation and the settlements of the city of Ulm, which many considered a pioneer in the realm of land reform.<sup>88</sup> The tour was repeated the following year with the DGG allowing their own members to participate as well, and they added many of the locations that had begun to build garden cities, including Strasbourg, Karlsruhe and Essen.<sup>89</sup>

The DGG also produced pamphlets chronicling the success of the tours, accompanied by printed testimonials from prominent participants. They distributed these pamphlets along with the brochure advertising the next study tour and thereby managed to maintain a high level of

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<sup>86</sup> Rosemaire Haag Bletter, "Bruno Taut and Paul Scheerbart's Vision: Utopian Aspects of German Expressionist Architecture" (Ph.D. diss, Columbia University, 1973), 51.

<sup>87</sup> "Liste der Teilnehmer," in *Aus englischen Gartenstädten*, 13-16. The 1912 trip included representatives from St. Petersburg and Riga as well as 31 participants from the *Böhmischen Landesvereins für Wohnungsreform* (Bohemian State Association for Housing Reform) ["10. Generalversammlung der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft," *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 10 (October 1912): 169].

<sup>88</sup> "Studienreise der »Garden Cities and Town Planning Association« nach Deutschland," *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 7 (July 1911): 91.

<sup>89</sup> "Studienreise durch Deutschland," *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 1 (January 1912): 13 and *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 7 (July 1912): 130.

interest in the trips. The testimonials by men such as Bruno Taut and *Oberbürgermeister* Tappenbeck, the mayor of Oldenburg, repeatedly expressed the fact that no one could participate in the tour without becoming an enthusiastic supporter of the garden city movement. They all praised the organization of the trip and acknowledged that the DGG offered them unprecedented access to leaders in the field of English housing reform, as well as unparalleled views into the lives of everyday English citizens. The participants also praised the lively exchange of ideas among the members of the tour, stating that the expertise of fellow participants greatly enhanced their experience. Some, such as *Baurat* Woltz from Stuttgart, were so inspired by their trip that they gave lectures about their experiences upon returning home.<sup>90</sup>

All told, the propaganda efforts of the DGG were relatively successful. By October of 1909, the membership of the DGG had climbed to 1,500 and the circulation of *Gartenstadt* to 5,000.<sup>91</sup> With only fifteen hundred members across Germany, it might not seem as if the DGG's propaganda had achieved much, but the membership rosters reflect the ability of the DGG to appeal to a wide range of interests. Bankers, land reformers, doctors, city officials, philanthropists, architects, landscape architects, city planners, political economists and industrialists, all of whom had a stake in urban and housing reform, counted themselves as members.<sup>92</sup> In addition, a staggering number of city governments were corporate members of the organization. As a result, the influence of the DGG was much greater than its membership

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<sup>90</sup> Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, *Rückblick auf die Reisen 1909-1911* [Museum für Kunsthandwerk 4, Akten des Mitteldeutschen Kunstgewerbe-Vereins, Institut für Stadtgeschichte (Frankfurt)].

<sup>91</sup> "Rundschau," *Gartenstadt* 3, no. 3 (1909): 40; "Rundschau," *Gartenstadt* 3, no. 4 (1909): 60; and "Achte Hauptversammlung der Deutschen Gartenstadtgesellschaft," *Gartenstadt* 3, no. 7 (1909): 102. As compared to 200 members in late 1905.

<sup>92</sup> Again, see Appendix A for a list of the individual and corporate members of the DGG from 1902 to 1906. I was unable to find membership rosters for the later years of the organization. In *Aus englischen Gartenstädten*, Hans Kampffmeyer urged government representatives, especially those who had influence in city planning, to return to their cities after the study tours and actively support the garden city movement through the creation of garden suburbs and well-planned extensions to existing localities [106].

numbers would suggest. Lastly, much of the increase in membership after 1908 resulted from the foundation of local chapters, which were formed with the express intent of building garden cities. Most of the major cities in Germany – notably Berlin, Dresden, Hamburg, Essen and Mannheim – built a garden city or garden suburb before World War I, and many others, like Munich, explored the possibility, going so far as to draw up plans. In the end, this must be the final measure of the success of the DGG's propaganda.

## Chapter 4

### The Triumph of Pragmatism in the Reception and Practical Endeavors of the DGG

By the second decade of the twentieth century, the concept of the garden city had become commonplace in Germany. Hans and Bernhard Kampffmeyer, along with the other members of the board, had succeeded in gaining substantial press coverage for their endeavors, and the press coverage only increased as various municipalities across Germany began to build garden cities. Mannheim provides an excellent case study as the local paper, the *General-Anzeiger*, reported on every aspect of the struggle to realize Gartenvorstadt Mannheim, from the initial lecture by Hans Kampffmeyer introducing the concept to the local populace in 1906 through the government meetings approving land acquisition in 1910 to the first tenants moving into the partially constructed settlement in 1912. National publications also reported favorably on the garden city movement. The editor-in-chief of *Bauwelt*, Alfred Dambitsch, participated in one of the DGG's study tours of England and, upon his return, published reactions from his fellow participants in a two-part series.<sup>1</sup> The correspondence between Hilde Kampffmeyer and her parents reveals further evidence of the wide range of periodicals covering the garden city. In letters to their daughter, Hans's in-laws mentioned articles on the garden city in their local newspaper in Wernigerode as well as in the *Deutsche Zeitung* and an unnamed publication that Hans's father-in-law simply referred to as "*unsere naturwissenschaftlichen Blätter*" or "our natural science newspaper."<sup>2</sup> Excerpts from favorable articles published in newspapers and magazines across the country made their way into the pages of the DGG's own publications. These excerpts were

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<sup>1</sup> "Aus englischen Gartenstädten: Urteile der fachmännischen Reisetilnehmer," *Die Bauwelt* 1, no. 58 (15 October 1910): 9-10 and *Die Bauwelt* 1, no. 59 (19 October 1910): 9-10. Issue no. 57 also contained an article on Gartenstadt Wandsbek.

<sup>2</sup> Hermann Fischer to Hilde Kampffmeyer, 3 June 1908; Charlotte Fischer to Hilde Kampffmeyer, 14 July 1907 and 21 June 1908, *Familienbriefe 1906-1908*, ed. Irmel Roth, 33, 59-60 [Kampffmeyer Family Papers, Ute Hamann].

meant to convince potential adherents of the widespread support for the DGG even as they bolstered the morale of the group by providing concrete evidence of the success of the DGG's propaganda.

Not all of the public response was purely positive, however. Leading members of the Bund deutscher Bodenreformer (League of German Land Reformers), seemingly natural allies for the DGG, expressed reservations about the garden city concept. At the 1909 general meeting in Nürnberg, Adolf Pohlmann dismissed the DGG as a “purely philanthropic movement” which “possessed no economic significance,” although he did find it to be of artistic merit. More damningly, Adolf Damaschke, at one time a participant in the *Neue Gemeinschaft*, stated that the DGG “stood in opposition to the law governing the accumulation of ground rents, which it aims artificially to set aside.”<sup>3</sup> Damaschke maintained that it would be impossible to increase rents on a regular schedule as proposed by Howard in his book because it would be impossible to get a majority of members of any cooperative to agree to the increase. Hans Kampffmeyer responded that regular rent increases could be built into initial contracts. Every five years, a commission comprised of board members, inhabitants and aspiring inhabitants would reevaluate the rents, adjusting them for increased land value, construction costs, amortization and interest.<sup>4</sup> Upon the publication of the proceedings of the land reformers' general meeting in *Gartenstadt*, letters of support poured into the offices of the DGG, including one from Michael Flürscheim, who initially lead the land reform movement in Germany and who *The New York Times* referred to as

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<sup>3</sup> “Die Jahresversammlung des Bundes Deutscher Bodenreformer” *Gartenstadt* 3, no. 4 (1909): 62. “Pohlmann meinte, die Gartenstadtbewegung verdiene etwas Wohlwollen und sei künstlerisch interessant, zwar als eine reine philanthropische Bestrebung besitze sie keine wirtschaftliche Bedeutung. Damaschke behauptete, die Gartenstadtgesellschaft stehe im Widerspruch mit dem Gesetz der Grundrentenbildung, die sie künstlich beseitigen wolle.”

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 63 and “Sollen die Mieten in Gartenstädten unsteigbar sein?” *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 2 (February 1910): 15.

“Germany’s Henry George.”<sup>5</sup> These letters indicate the presence of conflicting views within the land reform movement, with many moderates and pragmatists siding with the DGG.<sup>6</sup> The animosity between Damaschke and Hans Kampffmeyer continued, however. In August of 1910, Kampffmeyer wrote to Wilhelm Eckstein, a colleague involved with Gartenstadt Nürnberg, and asked him to attend a lecture at the meeting of the *deutscher Mietvereine* (German Rent Associations). Hans hoped that Eckstein would represent the ideas of the garden city movement “especially in the event that Damaschke speaks out against us again.”<sup>7</sup>

Other organizations, while supporting the general goals of the DGG, took issue with details of their proposals. For example, Carl Johannes Fuchs explained the complicated relationship between the *Heimatschutz* and garden city movements in *Die Deutsche Gartenstadt-Bewegung* (The German Garden City Movement, 1911). One of the main aims of the *Heimatschutz* movement was the preservation of the “unspoiled beauty” of the Germany landscape.<sup>8</sup> This goal conflicted with the DGG’s stated intention of creating a nation-wide network of settlements, many of them built on virgin land. However, the programs of the two organizations overlapped in many other respects and so the *Heimatschutz* movement greeted the DGG as comrades-in-arms. In particular, representatives of the *Heimatschutz* movement regarded the urban *Mietskaserne* as one of their “greatest enemies” and greatly admired the DGG’s struggle to replace the hulking multi-story buildings with row houses and single-family

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<sup>5</sup> “Germany’s Henry George, Herr Michael Flürscheim and His Land Theories,” *The New York Times*, 21 July 1889.

<sup>6</sup> For more on the conflicts within the land reform movement (and between Damaschke and Franz Oppenheimer), see chapter 2 of Kevin Repp’s book, *Reformers, Critics, and the Paths of German Modernity*.

<sup>7</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer to Wilhelm Eckstein, 8 August 1910. This letter was pasted into Gartenstadt Nürnberg’s copy of *Aus englischen Gartenstädte*. “Besonders erwünscht wäre es mir, wenn Sie bei dem Vortrag über „Kommunale Wohnungspolitik“ von Herrn Otto Meissgeier (ein Mitglied unserer Gesellschaft) den Gartenstadtgedanken entsprechend vertreten würden, besonders für den Fall das Damaschke wieder gegen uns spricht.”

<sup>8</sup> Carl Johannes Fuchs, “Gartenstadt und Heimatschutz,” in *Die Deutsche Gartenstadt-Bewegung: Zusammenfassende Darstellung über den heutigen Stand der Bewegung* (Berlin-Schlachtensee: Verlag der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, 1911), 83.

homes. They also admired the DGG's emphasis on adapting their settlements to the landscape and the inclusion of nature within the city limits.<sup>9</sup>

The response of the city planning community likewise revealed a qualified acceptance of the garden city model as an important trend within contemporary urban planning. The Allgemeine Städtebauausstellung or General City Planning Exhibition, which took place in Berlin in 1910, included plans of the garden cities at Hellerau, Nürnberg, and Stockfeld (outside Strasbourg) as part of the section devoted to city expansions.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, Josef Stübben, one of the founding fathers of the discipline of urban planning, included a short chapter on garden cities in the second edition of his comprehensive tome, *Der Städtebau* (1907). Elsewhere in his book, he took a general stance against the *Mietskaserne* and in support of the single-family house, a position coinciding with that espoused by the DGG.<sup>11</sup> However, Stübben also predicted that certain elements of the garden city concept, especially the categorical insistence upon communal land ownership, would cause great difficulties for the fledgling movement.<sup>12</sup> Certainly the emphasis on communal land ownership raised questions as to the underlying political orientation of the DGG, despite their vehement assertions that they espoused no political creed. Their flexible and pragmatic stance created the paradoxical situation where the most passionate opponents of the DGG included both doctrinaire socialists and the staunchest adherents of capitalism.

Articles on the garden city appeared in many socialist and anarchist publications, including the *Sozialistische Monatshefte* (Socialist Monthly) and *Der Arme Teufel* (The Poor

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 84.

<sup>10</sup> "Allgemeine Städtebauausstellung 1910 in Berlin," *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 5 (January 1910): 58.

<sup>11</sup> "Rundschau. Städtebau," *Gartenstadt* 1, no. 4 (1906-1907): 31.

<sup>12</sup> Josef Stübben, *Der Städtebau*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Handbuch der Architektur Teil 4, no. 9 (Stuttgart : A. Kröner, 1907), 306.

Devil), but responses within the socialist community were mixed. Most socialists praised the decentralization and communal ownership of land within the garden city, although many did not like the mixture of capitalism and socialism they found in the concept. August Bebel, a dedicated Marxist and a co-founder of the SPD, focused on the similarities of the garden city to the earlier utopian socialist concepts of Owen and Fourier and to his own concept for a social-democratic society which he put forth in his book, *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* (The Woman and Socialism, 1879). In this new society, which emphasized equality for women, the community would take responsibility for household chores, necessitating centralized housekeeping facilities. As a result, Bebel was excited by the communal housekeeping and cooking facilities that formed part of the DGG's original proposals.<sup>13</sup> In the 50<sup>th</sup> edition published in 1910, Bebel explicitly endorsed the garden city as his preferred housing form.<sup>14</sup> Others such as the revisionist socialist, Edmund Fischer, discounted the importance of the communal facilities and focused instead on the cooperative provision of housing. He viewed the garden city as a feasible method – within the existing capitalist system – of providing healthy housing for a wide segment of the population and of preventing rapid increases in rent.<sup>15</sup> He also supported the focus on single-family homes and row houses as the cheapest way to build small apartments that still met his minimum criteria for dwellings. Fischer countered possible objections to the elite status of the settlements by arguing that the consumer cooperatives and unions also initially consisted of the upper levels of the working class.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Thomas Hafner, "Sozialdemokratie und Gartenstadtbewegung im deutschen Kaiserreich" in *Im Grünen wohnen-im Blauen planen*, 124-26.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Edmund Fischer, "Die Genossenschaftliche Lösung der Wohnungsfrage," *Sozialistische Monatshefte* 15-17, no. 22 (1911): 1410-11.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, 1413-14.



Not all members of the SPD maintained such a sanguine view of the DGG's concessions to existing capitalist conditions. In a strongly worded article in the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, Hugo Lindemann, the political economist and expert on communal movements, attempted to dismantle the economic underpinnings of the entire garden city movement, declaring:

The garden city is not located on an island or on the moon, but in a capitalist society, with which it is connected by a thousand threads. The economic laws, which apply there, also operate in the garden city, and the economic processes that play out there, exercise their effects on the economic processes in the garden city.<sup>17</sup>

He argued that without the other elements of a socialist economy, such as consumer cooperatives and communal stores, the exploitative aspects of capitalism would only be diverted from land speculation to another sector of the economy. For example, factory and storeowners would lower the prices of their goods enough to be competitive with outside vendors but would still profit excessively from the low rents established in the garden city.<sup>18</sup> He also argued that the population cap advised by Howard would lead to economic stagnation that would undermine the entire endeavor.<sup>19</sup>

Bernhard Kampffmeyer's rebuttal in the same publication is typical of the pragmatic approach favored by the DGG and reveals a certain impatience with Lindemann's adamant dismissal of the effectiveness of land reform. Kampffmeyer argued that observers needed to

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<sup>17</sup> Hugo Lindemann, "Die Gartenstadtbewegung," *Sozialistische Monatshefte* 9-11, no. 7 (1905): 606. "Die Gartenstadt liegt eben nicht auf einer Insel, noch im Monde, sondern in einer kapitalistischen Gesellschaft, mit der sie durch tausend Fäden zusammenhängt. Die wirtschaftlichen Gesetze, die dort gelten, sind auch in der Gartenstadt in Kraft, und die wirtschaftlichen Vorgänge, die sich dort abspielen, üben ihre Wirkung auf die wirtschaftlichen Vorgänge in der Gartenstadt.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 607. In his article "Die Genossenschaftliche Organisation des Wohnens," Franz Staudinger evaluates the garden city much more positively but expresses a similar view regarding the need for garden cities or building societies to partner with consumer cooperatives [*Sozialistisches Monatshefte* 14-16, no. 26 (1910): 1692]. See also "Gartenstadt und Genossenschaft," *Gartenstadt* 3, no. 2 (1909): 20-23.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 605.

evaluate concepts according to their potential for further development and should not focus solely on the results obtained in the present. He used the *Konsumverein* or consumer cooperative movement, beloved by the SPD, to make his point. Consumer cooperatives, in their ideal form, would purchase items in bulk and even produce goods themselves. Faced with practical constraints, however, most consumer cooperatives limited themselves to the distribution of goods. In Kampffmeyer's view, they still provided a valuable service to consumers. In addition, their present endeavors paved the way for the further implementation of the movement's objectives. Kampffmeyer asked that the same courtesy be extended to the garden city movement, that it be allowed to proceed with whatever reforms it could implement. He added that the end goal of the DGG was no other than a *Bodenkonsumgenossenschaft* or a consumer cooperative for land, in other words a melding of the goals and methods of land reform and consumer cooperatives.<sup>20</sup> Kampffmeyer's views were echoed by the Social Democrat Franz Staudinger, who regarded the garden city as a "true cooperative" and one that would eventually allow the goals of socialism to be reached. In Staudinger's opinion, the garden city provided opportunities for consumers to concentrate their power, thereby carving out a new economic space in which work and production would gradually be detached from *Großkapital*.<sup>21</sup>

In general, socialists across the board approved of the aesthetic model provided by the garden city. The early disputes arose over the effectiveness of the DGG's model of cooperative land ownership in eliminating land speculation and changing the underlying economic relationships of the community.<sup>22</sup> Many initial opponents, such as Hugo Lindemann, would later

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<sup>20</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, "Zur Gartenstadtbewegung," *Sozialistische Monatshefte* 9-11, no. 11 (1905): 959.

<sup>21</sup> Franz Staudinger, "Gartenstadt und Genossenschaft," *Gartenstadt* 3, no. 2 (1909): 22. Staudinger was a regular contributor to *Gartenstadt*.

<sup>22</sup> Hafner, 129-130.

contribute to DGG publications, and would see in the garden city a practical solution to the problem of workers' housing, if not the solution to all contemporary economic ills.<sup>23</sup>

Even tentative support from socialists could cause problems in a country that had outlawed the practice of socialism from 1870 to 1890. So how did people other than the socialists or their fellow reformers perceive the DGG? In May of 1912, the DGG received the status of protectorate from the *Kronprinzessin* of Baden. This protectorate was largely symbolic, but it indicated the royal family's approval of the leadership and goals of the DGG. It did not include any monetary support for the building of garden cities and did not extend to the individual cooperatives or *Ortsgruppen*.<sup>24</sup> Obviously, the royal family of Baden did not feel threatened by socialist support for the DGG. In fact, they had long been interested in the DGG's attempts to improve housing conditions for low-income workers. As early as 1908, long before any of the garden cities had begun building campaigns, Hans Kampffmeyer acquired an audience with *Großherzog* Friedrich II, who expressed support for the general undertakings of the DGG and for the Karlsruhe endeavor in particular.<sup>25</sup> Various members of the royal family also visited exhibitions mounted by the DGG and the *Ortsgruppe*. In 1910, the *Großherzog* and his ministers received a personal tour of the exhibition in Karlsruhe, as did many other federal and municipal authorities. A few years later, in 1912, Friedrich II and his wife returned to view completed houses in Gartenstadt Karlsruhe. The *Kron-Prinzessin* also attended various events, visiting the DGG's exhibition when it was in Zoppot and, in 1914, attending a night of lectures

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<sup>23</sup> Hugo Lindemann, "Arbeiterschaft und Gartenstadt," in *Die Deutsche Gartenstadt-Bewegung*, 92. This argument is also made by Axel Schollmeier in his book, *Gartenstädte in Deutschland*.

<sup>24</sup> "Rundschau. Protektoratsübernahme durch die Frau Kronprinzessin," *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 5 (May 1912): 87.

<sup>25</sup> "Aus der Gartenstadtbewegung," *Gartenstadt* 2, no. 4 (1908): 28. Members of other royal families also visited garden cities. See Figure 22 for an image of King Friedrich August III of Saxony at Gartenstadt Marienbrunn.

in Berlin; the speakers for that night included Hermann Muthesius, who addressed the familiar topic of the prevention of land speculation within the garden city.<sup>26</sup>



Figure 22. King Friedrich August III of Saxony visits Gartenstadt Marienbrunn near Leipzig on June 22, 1913.

By all accounts, Hans Kampffmeyer was a charming and persuasive speaker, and his efforts are partly responsible for the support the DGG received from the royal family of Baden. He was also willing to go beyond the bounds of propriety when doing so would achieve his goals. While he was a housing inspector for

Baden, his duties included the preparation of reports on housing conditions throughout the province. Hans knew that *Großherzoginmutter* Luise read these missives with great interest, and so he took pains to ensure their high quality. However, Hans was also frustrated with the miserable conditions he found in many areas. On one of his many inspection trips, after a particularly bad night during which he had been woken repeatedly by flea bites, he pasted some of the offending specimens to the bottom of his report to underscore his comments on the poor conditions he had found. He kept his job, and although there is no mention of how Luise responded to the incident, his family fondly tells the story as proof of his unconventional personality and commitment to his cause.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> “Rundschau,” *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 5 (May 1912): 111; *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 10 (October 1912): 177; and *Gartenstadt* 7, no. 4 (April 1914): 70.

<sup>27</sup> “Vaters Flöhe für die Großherzoginmutter Luise,” Band IV [Kampffmeyer Family Papers, Ute Hamann].

Hans Kampffmeyer's efforts did not convince everyone to support the movement, however. In one of their earliest publications, *Zur Ansiedlungsfrage!* (On the Settlement Question!), the DGG identified the source of their most ardent opposition, proclaiming:

The reason for this slow progress is obvious: The high prices of property, the great, old, invested money interests and the political-legal relationships of our municipalities everywhere reveal themselves as intractable enemies of a far-reaching city and housing reform.<sup>28</sup>

Despite the fact that most observers (and most socialists) viewed the DGG as “standing upon the shoulders of capitalism” rather than attempting to revert to a preindustrial economic model, property owners, represented by organizations such as the Grund- und Hausbesitzer Vereine (Property and House Owners Association), felt threatened by the presence of garden cities and suburbs.<sup>29</sup> A satirical essay written for *Gartenstadt* expressed an extreme version of views that many property owners espoused. In this humorous piece, a city councilman from Braunschweig identified as Hannes Müllerfeld railed against the creation of Gartenstadt Braunschweig-Riddagshausen:

Gentlemen, it is clear that the Social Democrats want something more than what they profess to want.... They begin with the *Schrebergärten* and with shacks, and then they want gardens with villas, and in a few years they will want palaces and we shall become servants and serve them. Whoever is for true freedom, must fight against them. However, not simply we men of politics but also friends of nature should defend ourselves. If there were ever garden cities everywhere, what would that mean, gentlemen? What would we see in these gardens?: red roofs and red window crossbars, in front red carnations and roses, red poppies at

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<sup>28</sup> *Zur Ansiedlungsfrage!* [Magistratskaten MA S2.263, Bd. II, no. 55, Institut für Stadtgeschichte (Frankfurt)]. “Die Gründe für diesen langsamen Fortschritt liegen auf der Hand: Der hohe Preisstand von Grund und Boden, grosse alte, investierte Geldinteressen und die politisch-rechtlichen Verhältnisse unserer Gemeinden zeigen sich überall als hartnäckige Feinde einer durchgreifenden Stadt- und Wohnungsreform.”

<sup>29</sup> Franz Staudinger, “Gartenstadt und Genossenschaft,” 20.

the gable, red cabbage in the vegetable garden and in the trees they would suffer only red robins.<sup>30</sup>

Müllerfeld's poetic repetition of the word "red" underscored the property owners' belief in the socialist tendencies of the garden city organization, which, although it did not specifically seek it, received strong support from the social democrats in Braunschweig.<sup>31</sup> Property owners feared that the cooperative economic endeavors in the garden city would undermine existing businesses and even argued that the *Mietskaserne* furthered community because multiple families lived together under one roof. The satire expressed views that many landowners held but were hesitant to utter, claiming that the state should recognize their claims because they were "worth more than the great mass of members of the third estate."<sup>32</sup> Others echoed these general ideas even if they couched them in less condescending terms. During a meeting of the Zentralverband der Haus- und Grundbesitzervereine Deutschland (Central Organization of House and Property Owners' Associations), an unnamed member calmly asserted that "Single-family homes should only be built when and where the interests of home owners will not be damaged."<sup>33</sup>

The property owners in Braunschweig and in many other areas did more than simply speak out against the garden city. They actively lobbied government agencies to prevent the

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<sup>30</sup> "Nieder mit der Gartenstadt!" *Gartenstadt* 8, no. 3 (March 1914): 57. "Meine Herren: Es ist doch klar, daß die Sozialdemokraten etwas dabei wollen, wenn sie etwas wollen.... Mit den Schrebergärten fingen sie an und mit Bretterbuden, und nun wollen sie Gärten haben mit Villas, und in ein paar Jahren wollen sie Schlösser haben und wir sollen die Knechte machen und Bedienten. Wer für wirkliche Freiheit ist, der muß dagegen kämpfen. Aber nicht bloß wir Männer der Politik, auch die Naturfreunde sollten sich dagegen wehren. Wenn es erst überall diese Gartenstädte gibt, was meinen Sie, meine Herren, was sie da zu sehen kriegen werden in diesen Gärten: rote Dächer und rote Fensterkreuze, vorn rote Nelken und Rosen, am Hausgiebel roter Mohn, im Gemüsegarten Rotkohl und in den Bäumen werden sie nur Rotkehlchen dulden." In *Deutsche Gartenstadtbewegung*, Kristiana Hartmann identifies this as a satirical essay [127-128], while the same document is treated as if it were an actual speech in *Im Grünen wohnen – im Blauen planen* [170].

<sup>31</sup> Otto Meyer, "Zur tatsächlichen Berichtigung," *Gartenstadt* 8, no. 3 (March 1914): 55.

<sup>32</sup> "Nieder mit der Gartenstadt!," 57-58.

<sup>33</sup> Emil Behnisch, "Hausbesitzer und Gartenstadt," *Gartenstadt* 8, no. 3 (March 1914): 52. "Einfamilienhäuser dürfen nur dann und nur dort gebaut werden, wo keine Hausbesitzerinteressen dadurch geschädigt werden."

garden cities from acquiring land and building permits. The landowners based their opposition to the garden city upon ideas of unfair competition – both in terms of small businesses and housing – and the undesirability of an influx of low-income workers. For instance, the Grund- und Hausbesitzer Verein in Karlsruhe opposed attempts by the local *Gartenstadtgenossenschaft* to acquire land for the creation of Gartenstadt Karlsruhe. The members presented a counter-petition to the *Zweiten Kammer* or lower chamber of Baden in which they argued that the garden city, in acquiring land from the city at a reduced price, would be receiving unfair support and assistance from the government. The property owners worried that their own tenants would no longer be willing to pay the current rents when they saw the types of dwellings available in the garden city with this government support. To make matters worse in their eyes, they believed that the adherents of the garden city movement did not consist of the lower-income groups whom the garden city purported to serve.<sup>34</sup>

Hans Kampffmeyer refuted each of the property owners' claims in an appearance before the *Zweiten Kammer*. He provided proof that the “majority of the members” of the DGG and Gartenstadtgenossenschaft Karlsruhe “belonged to the working class or to economically comparable circles.”<sup>35</sup> He also contended that the property owners could receive similar concessions regarding land prices from the government when they agreed to build under the same economic conditions as the garden city movement did (preventing land speculation, for example). After a lengthy debate, the lower chamber found that the complaints of the Grund-

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<sup>34</sup> “Die Gartenstadtbewegung in der badischen Zweiten Kammer,” *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 8 (August 1910): 87.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 88. There did seem to be a wide range of professions in places such as *Gartenstadt Karlsruhe*, but the garden cities certainly were not an option for the poorest of the poor. Most of the inhabitants were employees of the railroads or the post office, artists or professors.

und Hausbesitzerverein had no merit and approved the petition of the garden city to acquire low-cost land from the city.<sup>36</sup>

As at Braunschweig and Karlsruhe, the arguments put forth by the property owners in Berlin drew heavily upon fear and stereotypes of the working class. They argued that the garden city would be a blight on the existing neighborhood, bringing in large numbers of the poor. They commented that “there are already enough poultry thieves in the area, we don’t need to bring in new ones.”<sup>37</sup> They also claimed that the prevention of speculation would result in a decline in tax income for the municipality, in an effort to sway the government with dire predictions of economic hardship. The members of the building society established to build Gartenvorstadt Groß-Berlin worried that the property owners would have enough influence on the city council to block their proposal, despite what they felt was the obvious misrepresentation of their intentions.<sup>38</sup> Eventually, however, the municipal government rejected the claims of the property owners and allowed the construction of Gartenstadt Falkenberg to proceed.

The Grund- und Hausbesitzerverein in Hamburg met with much greater success than their counterparts in Karlsruhe or Berlin. The property owners were strongly represented within government circles, and Manchesterism, with its opposition to governmental intervention in economic and social matters, dominated local thinking. When asked by members of Gartenstadtgenossenschaft Hamburg whether funding might be available for the creation of a garden city, the finance ministry replied in the negative. In fact, the government went so far as to deny the obvious dearth of *Kleinwohnungen* (small dwellings) in the city.<sup>39</sup> The inhospitable

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> “Rundschau, Berlin,” *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 7 (July 1912): 144.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> “Rundschau, Hamburg,” *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 10 (October 1911): 143.



political and economic climate in Hamburg forced Gartenstadtgenossenschaft Hamburg to liquidate its assets and merge with nearby Gartenstadt Wandsbek, whose board members had a more successful track record in dealing with city authorities.<sup>40</sup>

Property owners rarely blocked construction of garden cities completely, but they did slow the process considerably in many places.<sup>41</sup> The DGG's struggles against the property owner associations reveal a larger truth about the movement: despite their idealistic rhetoric about creating a space where new economic, political and cultural models could flourish, the garden cities had to contend with existing conditions. Even virgin land was located within boundaries controlled by some existing governmental body that had the power to levy taxes and issue building permits. It would have been quite difficult for the garden city cooperatives to establish entirely new municipalities, even if they had had the initial populations or infrastructure to support such a step. The realities of constructing communal settlements within a capitalist society eventually forced the leadership of the DGG to make compromises on many of its fundamental premises.

In fact, conflicts surfaced within the DGG almost as soon as the organization shifted its focus away from laying the theoretical groundwork for the movement and began to wrestle with the practical steps necessary to build the first projects. The leadership of the DGG realized early on that it did not have the resources to oversee multiple construction projects scattered across

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<sup>40</sup> "Gartenstadt Hamburg," *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 9 (September 1912): 164 and "10. Generalversammlung der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft," 169.

<sup>41</sup> As Jörg Schadt observes in his essay "Die Anfänge der Gartenstadtbewegung in Südwestdeutschland," the property owner organizations thwarted attempts to build projects in Stuttgart, Braunschweig and Munich. Schadt also speculates that the delays at Karlsruhe can be attributed, at least in part, to the efforts of the property owners in that city [in *Wald, Garten und Park: Vom Funktionswandel der Natur für die Stadt*, edited by Bernard Kirchgässner and Joachim B. Schultis, *Stadt in der Geschichte*, vol. 18 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1993), 102]. The contrast with Margarethenhöhe is instructive. Due to intense marketing efforts by the Krupp Firm, conservative members of the Reichstag vehemently defended the workers' settlements as crucial to the peaceful relations between capital and labor and to mitigating the housing shortage in the city [Cedric Bolz, "From 'garden city precursors' to 'cemeteries for the living': Contemporary Discourse on Krupp Housing and *Besucherpolitik* in Wilhelmine Germany," *Urban History* 37, no. 1 (2010): 113-114].

Germany, and so it encouraged the founding of *Ortsgruppen* (local chapters) which in turn established *Genossenschaften* (cooperatives) or *gemeinnützige Gesellschaften* (non-profit corporations) to organize the financing, planning and construction of the individual projects. Already, in 1906, *Ortsgruppe* existed in Karlsruhe, Freiburg, Konstanz and Mannheim, and the coming years would see local chapters springing up in most of the major cities of Germany. However, the DGG's success in creating local groups also caused some growing pains as the leadership struggled to define the balance of power between the *Ortsgruppe* and the main organization. To begin with, some competition for members existed, as most people were unlikely to pay dues to both the national and local organizations. The DGG recouped some of the loss in individual membership dues by offering corporate memberships with higher dues to the *Ortsgruppe* and later to the *Genossenschaften*. In 1913, for example, while individual members paid 5 Marks, corporate members such as Gartenstadt Hopfengarten outside Magdeburg paid 20 Marks.<sup>42</sup> Then, in order to stave off potential conflicts of interest between the local and national organizations, the DGG decided to give the *Ortsgruppe* some representation on their board and agreed not to interfere with the administration of the local groups, even when they deviated from the ideals of the original organization.<sup>43</sup>

The DGG also had to figure out how to remain relevant as the focus of the movement shifted from propaganda to building. And so, as the local groups struggled to raise funds and acquire land, the DGG reported on the progress and tribulations encountered in each area. From their relatively objective viewpoint, the editorial staff of *Gartenstadt* was able to discern

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<sup>42</sup> "Beitragszahlungen über 5 M. hinaus," *Gartenstadt* 7, no. 6 (June 1913): 122. While most corporate members paid 10 to 20 Marks, others such as *Ortsgruppe Karlsruhe* gave more than the required amount, contributing 250 Marks that year.

<sup>43</sup> *Korrespondenz der Deutschen Gartenstadtgesellschaft*, no. 20 (September 16, 1906): 2-3 [Magistratskaten MA S2.263, Bd. II, no. 129, Institut für Stadtgeschichte (Frankfurt)].

connections and themes among the disparate local endeavors; as a result, the magazine became the place to flesh out the larger debates that affected the entire movement, such as whether high- or low-rise building was more appropriate for the garden city. Gradually, the pages of the magazine incorporated a greater proportion of articles addressing the layout of streets, houses and gardens and the specifics of fundraising. This shift roughly coincided with Emil Behnisch's assumption of editorial responsibility in July of 1911, when Hans Kampffmeyer stepped down to take a position with the Badische Landeswohnungsverein.

The DGG did not only report on the activities of the *Ortsgruppe*, however. The organization also published model by-laws, which many of the *Ortsgruppe* used as the basis for their own constitutions, and standardized rental contracts that could be modified for local conditions.<sup>44</sup> In addition, they created the short-lived Verband der gemeinnützigen Gartenstadtunternehmungen or Association of Non-Profit Garden City Enterprises, an umbrella organization for all of the individual cooperatives and non-profit organizations responsible for building the garden cities. The idea was loosely based on the English organization, Copartnership Tenants Ltd., which united the efforts of fourteen English garden city cooperatives and by 1910 had raised the equivalent of 16 million Marks for the construction of small dwellings.<sup>45</sup> The board of the DGG proposed the idea of the *Verband* in October of 1909 but they could not officially found the organization until March of 1910 because many of the representatives of the local groups did not have the power to authorize such a step.<sup>46</sup> Hans

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<sup>44</sup> They also published specific examples of rental contracts such as that for Gartenstadt Scopau which was itself based upon the rental agreement at Hellerau. Dr. Rademacher, "Der Erbmietvertrag für Gartenstädte, mit einem Vertragsmuster," *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 6 (June 1912): 120-121.

<sup>45</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, "Allgemeiner Bericht über die Gartenstadtbewegung," in *Die Deutsche Gartenstadt-Bewegung*, 4. The currency was converted to marks for the convenience of the readership. The original number in pounds was not given.

<sup>46</sup> "Erste Versammlung von Vertretern von Gartenstadtunternehmungen," *Gartenstadt* 3, no. 7 (1909): 105.

Kampffmeyer and the rest of the board had grand plans for the *Verband*, which they envisioned would serve its members in an advisory capacity and as the organizer of a consumer cooperative. To this end the *Verband* would found a *Baubureau* or building office that would serve as a repository of successful plans for both the communities as a whole and the housing within them. Members could examine the plans as reference materials to help them with planning their own settlements. In theory, members could even take advantage of the services of the most famous architects associated with the movement, including Hermann Muthesius, Heinrich Tessenow and Henry van de Velde. The DGG also created the *Beratungsstelle für Industrieansiedlung* (Information Center for Industrial Settlement), which was eventually run by Professor Franz from the Technische Hochschule in Berlin-Charlottenburg.<sup>47</sup> Professor Franz offered technical advice on city expansion and transportation layouts, evaluated the merits of proposed plans and put member organizations in contact with local architects who shared the goals and design sensibilities of the DGG. Dr. Franz's successes included advising the city of Stade near Hamburg on a project for a *Gartensiedlung* (garden settlement).<sup>48</sup>

Furthermore, the board intended that the *Verband* would set up a consumer cooperative to purchase building materials and components such as bricks and windows, as well as furniture. They hoped that the *Verband* could achieve economies of scale not yet possible for individual cooperatives, which usually had to build in stages due to limited funds. They even hoped that

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<sup>47</sup> The publications of the DGG also refer to this entity as the *Beratungsstelle* or the *Auskunftstelle für Industrialisierung von Kleinstädten* (Information Center for the Industrialization of Small Towns).

<sup>48</sup> W. Franz, "Die Entwicklung zur Gartenstadt," *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 1 (January 1911): 6-7. The DGG had offered similar advice before creating the *Baubureau* or the *Beratungsstelle*, as evidenced by the help it offered to Sorau (now Żary in Poland) as the city reorganized itself according to garden city principles ["Rundschau," *Gartenstadt* 3, no. 4, (1909): 62]. In particular, Adolf Otto in his role as treasurer and general secretary provided organizational and financial advice to many of the fledgling cooperatives [*Die Deutsche Gartenstadt-Bewegung*, 13-14]. Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform outside Magdeburg also approached the DGG for advice, resulting in Hans Kampffmeyer's 1912 plan for the settlement [Winfried Nerdinger, Kristiana Hartmann, Matthias Schirren, Manfred Speidel, eds., *Bruno Taut 1880-1938: Architekt zwischen Tradition und Avantgarde* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2001), 334].

the *Verband* might function as a credit union and general contractor, to provide financing and oversee the construction undertaken by the local groups. The problem with the *Verband*, as with many of the well-intentioned efforts of the DGG, was that it never had the funding to implement its plans. Moreover, only a small portion of the existing cooperatives participated. The *Verband* began with eight members, and among those only Gartenstadt Karlsruhe and Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform (Magdeburg) were officially garden cities. The rest were building societies or similar organizations with related goals.<sup>49</sup> Due to this limited funding and participation, the DGG dissolved the *Verband* in 1912, barely two years after its founding. The advisory responsibilities of the *Baubureau*, the most successful part of the undertaking, were transferred to the newly founded Bauabteilung der Deutschen Gartenstadtgesellschaft (Construction Division of the German Garden City Association), which was established, in part, to facilitate the financing and construction of Gartenstadt Falkenberg in Berlin.<sup>50</sup>

Before the DGG could offer advice to fledging garden cities, however, its members had to wrestle with the very definition of a garden city. The original platform of the DGG read as follows:

§1. The aim of the “German Garden City Association” is the dissemination and implementation of the garden city idea.

A garden city is a systematically arranged settlement on inexpensive terrain that remains communal property in perpetuity. It is a new city type, one that makes possible a far-reaching housing reform, that ensures advantageous conditions of production for industry and handicraft and which permanently secures a large part of its area as garden and farmland.

The end goal of a progressive garden city movement is an inner colonization, which strives for a decentralization of industry and an equable distribution of industrial life across the land through the methodical founding of garden cities.

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid, 105 and Hans Kampffmeyer, “Der ‘Verband gemeinnütziger Gartenstadtunternehmungen,’” *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 4 (April 1910): 37-38.

<sup>50</sup> “10. Generalversammlung der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft,” 168-171 and “Bauabteilung der Deutschen Gartenstadtgesellschaft, G.m.b.H., Schlachtensee bei Berlin,” *Gartenstadt* 7, no. 5 (May 1913): 97-98. The *Bauabteilung* also played an advisory role at Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform near Magdeburg.

Such settlements will fashion a healthier and more versatile urban life and connect the affiliated agriculture to the cultural values and the technical resources of the city in addition to providing it with the benefits of a direct market for its produce.

The association is anxious to create these types of settlements through dedicated founding societies, to win over public bodies to the realization of their aims and to advance all endeavors with related goals.<sup>51</sup>

In complete accordance with Howard's ideas, the original statutes emphasized the self-sufficient nature of the enterprise, which was to be achieved through a balance of industry and agriculture. No sooner had the platform been published, however, than a heated debate arose within the DGG over plans for the garden city in Karlsruhe, where local financial and infrastructural conditions necessitated the elimination of the agricultural and industrial components of the concept.<sup>52</sup> The resulting plan maintained the low-density housing, gardens, and communal buildings but jettisoned the elements that would have made it a self-sufficient enterprise. In other words, the settlement would be a *Gartenvorstadt* or garden suburb rather than a fully-fledged garden city. Bernhard Kampffmeyer reported that public opinion was divided when Gartenstadt Karlsruhe unveiled the plans: some press coverage expressed unconditional support for the endeavor,

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<sup>51</sup> Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, *Satzungen* (Berlin-Schlachtensee, 1906). „§1. Der Zweck der „Deutschen Gartenstadtgesellschaft“ ist die Verbreitung und Verwirklichung des Gartenstadtgedankens. Eine Gartenstadt ist eine planmässig gestaltete Siedlung auf wohlfeilem Gelände, das dauernd im Gemeindebesitz gehalten wird. Sie ist ein neuer Stadttypus, der eine durchgreifende Wohnungsreform ermöglicht, für Industrie und Handwerk vorteilhafte Produktionsbedingungen gewährleistet und einen grossen Teil seines Gebiets dauernd dem Garten und Ackerbau sichert. Das Endziel einer fortschreitenden Gartenstadt-bewegung ist eine Innenkolonisation, die durch planmässiges Begründen von Gartenstädten eine Dezentralisation der Industrie und damit eine gleichmässigerere Verteilung des Gewerbelebens über das Land anstrebt. Solche Siedlungen werden das städtische Leben gesünder und vielseitiger gestalten und der sich angliedernden Landwirtschaft die Kulturwerte und das technische Rüstzeug der Stadt, sowie die Vorteile des direkten Absatzes vermitteln. Die Gesellschaft ist bemüht, derartige Siedlungen durch besondere Gründungsgesellschaften ins Leben zu rufen, öffentliche Körperschaften für die Verwirklichung ihrer Ziele zu gewinnen, sowie alle Bestrebungen mit verwandten Zielen zu fördern.“

<sup>52</sup> Gartenstadt Karlsruhe and Gartenstadt Hellerau vied for the distinction of being the first German garden city. Gartenstadt Karlsruhe was founded on March 13, 1907 while the Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft Hellerau was founded June 4, 1908. However, the enterprise in Karlsruhe had great difficulty in acquiring land and getting approval for their plans, and so building commenced in Hellerau first.

while other publications, such as an unspecified Berlin newspaper, “saw in the undertaking a diminution of the original goals and, as a result, a ‘danger’ for the movement.”<sup>53</sup>

A similar schism occurred within the DGG itself. One side, including men like Gustav Landauer, felt that the DGG should not compromise or dilute its ideals. They believed that garden suburbs focused too much on the aesthetic issues of architecture and urban planning and not enough on the revolutionary economic underpinnings of Howard’s idea. The other side, which included pragmatists like Hans and Bernhard Kampffmeyer, recognized the difficulties inherent in trying to build new communities. Bernhard acknowledged that Gartenstadt Karlsruhe did not meet all the criteria of a garden city. In fact, it only possessed three of the six essential qualities of a garden city as he defined them:

The garden city concept which has been propagated by much activity here and abroad and which has been solidified through English practice, has the following six characteristics: communal ownership of land; low-density building with gardens; orderly planning and established growth limits for the settlement; a determined size and location for the undertaking that facilitates self-sufficiency; the decentralization of industry; and finally a large agricultural belt around the city. Measured by these elements, one can easily establish that the Karlsruhe plan fulfills only three of the six and that even with the first element, the communal ownership of property, exceptions will be permitted.<sup>54</sup>

However, while he and his cousin agreed that the garden city remained the ideal solution, they

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<sup>53</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, “Gartenstadt – Gartenvorstadt – Gemeinschaftsbesitz,” *Gartenstadt* 1, no. 5 (1906-1907): 33.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. “Das, was in mehrjähriger Tätigkeit hier und im Ausland als »Gartenstadt« propagiert worden ist und durch eine großzügige, englische Praxis eine Begriffshärtung erfahren hat, hat folgende 6 Charakteristika: Gemeinbesitz an Grund und Boden; weite Bebauung mit gartenmäßiger Gestaltung; Planmäßigkeit und Größenbeschränkung der Ansiedlung; eine gewisse Größe und Lage es Unternehmens, die es befähigt, eine selbständige Stadt zu werden; das Dezentralisationsmoment der Industrie und endlich ein Agrarproblem, das mit deinem großen landwirtschaftlichen Gürtel der Stadt gegeben ist. An diesen Elementen gemessen ist wohl festzustellen, daß der Karlsruher Plan von 6 nur 3 erfüllt und auch noch beim ersten Element, dem »Gemeinbesitz an Grund und Boden«, Ausnahmen zuzulassen gewillt ist.

advocated for a broadening of the movement to support the creation of garden suburbs and industrial and agricultural settlements according to garden city principles.<sup>55</sup>

According to the 1905-1906 annual report, this “new direction” within the DGG originated in southern Germany.<sup>56</sup> The members from the southern provinces argued for the adaptation of Howard’s plans to the specific conditions governing each area in Germany. For example, they contended that the mountainous geographical conditions, along with the fragmented nature of property ownership in southern Germany, made the acquisition of large areas of land very difficult. This area also did not have to contend with the depopulation of the countryside to the same degree as in England. Therefore, smaller settlements and garden suburbs made sense for this region. Like Howard, these men hoped to have a transformative effect on the region through the creation of “crowns” of garden suburbs around the large cities, and the conversion of smaller cities into garden cities. Local conditions simply required an indirect path to their goals.<sup>57</sup> In contrast, the flat expanses of land surrounding the Elbe to the east presented settlement and land ownership patterns very similar to those in England. The DGG asserted that the much cheaper land in this vicinity would make possible the acquisition of large areas of agricultural land and allow for the creation of full garden cities.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid. Karl Ernst Osthaus would go even further in 1911, arguing that the garden cities should be suburbs or satellites of large cities. He stated, “the town as an ideal appears absurd to me” (“Die Kleinstadt als Ideal scheint mir absurd”) and asserted that the garden cities needed to feed off the cultural energy of the metropolis [Karl Ernst Osthaus, “Die Bedeutung der Gartenstadtbewegung für die künstlerische Entwicklung unserer Zeit,” in *Die Deutsche Gartenstadt-Bewegung*, 99].

<sup>56</sup> Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, *Jahres-Bericht 1905-1906*, 4 [Magistratskaten MA S2.263, Bd. II, no. 86, Institut für Stadtgeschichte (Frankfurt)].

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, 5. These crowns of garden suburbs seem to be analogous to Howard’s Social City, a cluster of garden cities around an existing metropolis which eventually would become a single, polycentric entity and which would alleviate many of the miserable conditions within the metropolis by reducing density and lowering land prices.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 4-5.



In 1907, Hans and Bernhard Kampffmeyer introduced a measure to change the platform of the DGG to reflect the nuanced approach advocated by the members from southern Germany. While Hans acknowledged that the endeavor in Karlsruhe was a garden suburb rather than a garden city, he also warned against focusing too heavily on distinctions of nomenclature. He agreed with his opponents that political and economic independence constituted the essential qualities of the garden city. However, in an article entitled “*Gartenstadt und Gartenvorstadt*” (Garden City and Garden Suburb), Hans argued for flexibility in assessing other formerly sacrosanct elements of Howard’s theory. For example, he attacked Howard’s decision to cap the population at 30,000 inhabitants as arbitrary, stating that Aneurin Williams, the chairman of Garden City Ltd., had recently declared a minimum of 100,000 inhabitants as necessary to support the transfer of large-scale industry to Letchworth. On the other hand, he claimed that many small cities of 2-3,000 inhabitants enjoyed greater economic independence than a large city such as Charlottenburg, which would be incorporated into Berlin just a few years later in 1920. He treated the issue of the agricultural belt in a similar manner, for while he recognized its importance, he did not consider it indispensable. He illustrated his point with hypothetical examples, asserting that a small, economically independent settlement whose location between a canal and a state forest did not allow for an agricultural belt deserved the designation of “garden city” more than a bedroom community separated from the nearby metropolis by parks and gardens.<sup>59</sup>

The changes proposed by the Kampffmeyers were vigorously discussed at the annual meeting but did not initially find support with the majority of the members. They tinkered with the wording of the amendment until it finally passed at a specially-convened general meeting in

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<sup>59</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, “Gartenstadt und Gartenvorstadt,” *Gartenstadt* 1, no. 5 (1906-1907): 35-36.

December of 1907. The revised statute included a few key changes to the second and final paragraphs:

§1. The German Garden City Association is a propaganda association. It regards its main goal to be winning over the people for the founding of garden cities.

A garden city is a systematically arranged settlement on inexpensive terrain, which remains the *property of the community (Obereigentum der Gemeinschaft), in such a manner that all land speculation is permanently impossible....*

The association is eager to create these types of settlements through dedicated founding societies, to win over public bodies to the realization of their aims, and to advance all endeavors with related goals, *primarily including the establishment of residential developments, garden suburbs and industrial colonies in connection with existing cities* [italics added].<sup>60</sup>

The additions to the final paragraph officially allowed the DGG to pursue garden city ideals through a variety of settlement types. These changes were not entirely unprecedented, as the English movement developed in much the same way. Only Letchworth had managed to support agriculture and attract industry; businesses there operated a book bindery and press, a machine workshop, a textile factory, an auto factory, a woodworking shop and a saw mill.<sup>61</sup> Most other English endeavors were either industrial colonies in the manner of Port Sunlight or suburban settlements such as Hampstead Garden Suburb.

The changes to the second paragraph represented the conclusion of a simultaneously occurring debate within the DGG: the debate concerning property ownership within the garden

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<sup>60</sup> “Aus der Gartenstadtbewegung,” *Gartenstadt* 2, no. 1-2, (1908): 11. §1. Die Deutsche Gartenstadtgesellschaft ist eine Propagandagesellschaft. Sie erblickt ihr Hauptziel in der Gewinnung des Volkes für die Begründung von Gartenstädten. Die Gartenstadt ist eine planmäßig gestaltete Siedlung auf wohlfeilem Gelände, das im Obereigentum der Gemeinschaft erhalten wird derart, daß jede Spekulation mit dem Grund und Boden dauernd unmöglich ist....Die Gesellschaft ist bemüht, derartige Siedlungen durch besondere Gründungsgesellschaften ins Leben zu rufen, öffentliche Körperschaften für die Verwirklichung ihrer Ziele zu gewinnen, sowie alle Bestrebungen mit verwandten Zielen, zu fördern. Dazu gehört vor allem die Begründung von Wohnsiedlungen, Gartenvorstädten, Industriekolonien im Anschluß an bestehende Städte.

<sup>61</sup> W. H. Gaunt, “Die industrielle Entwicklung von Letchworth,” *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 12 (December 1911): 165. Many within the DGG were not happy with the level of agricultural production even in Letchworth. They applauded the dairy cooperative (*Milchhandelsgenossenschaft*) but felt that agriculture had been neglected at Letchworth and in most German garden cities as well [Dr. Lothar Meyer, “Der landwirtschaftliche Gürtel in Letchworth,” *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 8 (August 1911): 96-101].

city. Hans Kampffmeyer instigated this debate with the same speech that sparked the discussion about garden suburbs. In this speech entitled “Ziele und Mittel der Gartenstadtbewegung” (Goals and Means of the Garden City Movement), he argued that communal property was “an important means, but not the only means, of achieving the goals of the DGG.”<sup>62</sup> As with the type of settlement, all parties agreed that the original formulation – *Gemeindebesitz* (communal ownership) – represented the ideal. Once again, however, the pragmatists recognized the difficulty in achieving the ideal and the need for greater flexibility in the practical endeavors of the DGG. Following a suggestion by Franz Oppenheimer, the pragmatists reformulated the statute to read “Obereigentum der Gemeinschaft” rather than “Gemeindebesitz” and added a phrase concerning the prevention of speculation. The word *Obereigentum* does not have an English equivalent. It carries connotations of earlier property relationships, in particular the feudal system in which the lord owned the property and controlled its use, although he allowed his tenants to farm the land. Certainly, Oppenheimer did not advocate a return to feudal customs. He did, however, want the garden city to retain some control over property, even when it no longer officially owned a plot of land. This control was necessary in order to prevent the rampant speculation that the DGG blamed for many of the ills of contemporary cities.<sup>63</sup>

The original statute allowed for either communal ownership of land and buildings or *Erbbaurecht*, which awkwardly translates as hereditary building right and loosely corresponded to the English leasehold system.<sup>64</sup> Basically, *Erbbaurecht* was the right to build on property

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<sup>62</sup> “Aus der Gartenstadtbewegung – Deutschland,” *Gartenstadt* 1, no. 6 (1906-1907): 45. “Er könne im Gemeinbesitz des Bodens zwar ein wichtiges Mittel, aber nicht das alleinige zur Erreichung des Gartenstadtziels sehen.”

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. Oppenheimer acknowledged the need for changes even as he called the amendment “a dilution of the program” (“eine Verwässerung des Programms”).

<sup>64</sup> Hermann Muthesius discussed the English leasehold system in detail in *Das englische Haus*. He attributed the high proportion of homeowners in England to this system even as he explored the many ways in which the tenants

owned by someone else (here the garden city). This right was often limited in duration and acquired through the payment of an *Erbbauzins* or ground rent. The contract was entered into the building registry and, in theory, allowed the holder certain legal privileges such as the right to pass the building down to his descendants and the ability to acquire a mortgage.<sup>65</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer and other proponents of more flexible property relationships like Dr. Erich Wallroth argued that the emphasis on *Erbbaurecht* hindered the DGG's ability to build garden cities. In a detailed analysis of *Erbbaurecht* published in *Gartenstadt*, Dr. Wallroth argued that countless tenants encountered difficulty raising the capital to build, despite the rights granted in the *Erbbaurecht* contract and despite the fact that less money needed to be raised given that the tenant did not need to purchase the land. This occurred because federal regulations only allowed larger mortgage institutions and banks to lend to the property owner. Other sources of credit such as the government insurance agencies or *Landesversicherungsanstalten* often required the support of the property owner before they would lend money to the tenant. These conditions made it difficult for private citizens or cooperatives not supported by municipal or state governments to acquire credit. Dr. Wallroth also pointed out the reluctance of factory owners to accept the conditions of *Erbbaurecht*. Industrial enterprises often had much of their capital tied up in the factory building itself, and the owners wanted more protection for their investment than a simple lease agreement afforded.<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, Wallroth revealed the ways in which various parties could manipulate the *Erbbaurecht* contract to their benefit. For example, a property

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could be exploited by greedy landowners. In Germany, *Erbbaurecht* was made possible by Franz Adickes, the mayor of Frankfurt, who in 1899, devised the legal framework for separating the ownership of land from the ownership of buildings on that land [Brian Ladd, *Urban Planning & Civic Order in Germany, 1860-1914*, 199].

<sup>65</sup> Professor Dr. Erman, "Das Erbbaurecht und die Gartenvorstadt Leipzig-Marienbrunn," *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 5 (May 1912): 78.

<sup>66</sup> Dr. Erich Wallroth, "Zur Bodenpolitik der Deutschen Gartenstadtgesellschaft," *Gartenstadt* 1, no. 4 (1906-1907): 26-27.

owner could raise the ground rent considerably at the conclusion of the contract, forcing the tenant to pay or lose his house or factory.<sup>67</sup>

Despite these problems, Hans Kampffmeyer and Erich Wallroth believed that *Erbbaurecht* could be applied successfully in many areas of Germany. They simply wanted to allow other forms of property relationships where *Erbbaurecht* was not a viable option. As a result, they supported Oppenheimer's formulation of the statute, which allowed garden cities to take advantage of another type of property ownership known as *Wiederkaufsrecht*. *Wiederkaufsrecht* was the right to repurchase land or buildings. In order to prevent speculation, the DGG espoused a system developed in the city of Ulm, long thought to be a pioneer of municipal land reform. Under this system, the property could be repurchased at the original price, plus the value of any improvements made and minus the value of any damages or deterioration.<sup>68</sup> As with any system, the conditions of the contract mattered greatly. Emil Behnisch condemned the contract entered into by the Rheinischen Vereins für Kleinwohnungswesen (Rhein Association for Small Dwellings), for example, because it only guaranteed the organization the right to repurchase for ten years after the initial sale.<sup>69</sup> He and the DGG argued that the *Wiederkaufsrecht* must be extended for a much greater period of time, if not indefinitely, in order to prevent speculation. Given the proper conditions, however, the proponents of *Wiederkaufsrecht* argued that it prevented speculation as well as *Erbbaurecht* and

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid, 28.

<sup>68</sup> Emil Behnisch, "Miete – Erbmiete – Erbesitz," *Gartenstadt* 7, no. 11 (November 1913): 231.

<sup>69</sup> Emil Behnisch, "Die Rechtsformen zur dauernden Sicherung der Gemeinnützigkeit von Gartenstadtsiedlungen," *Gartenstadt* 7, no. 1 (January 1913): 15.

better than the English leasehold system. In addition, it offered practical benefits regarding the acquisition of credit.<sup>70</sup>

Opponents of *Wiederkaufsrecht* worried about undermining Howard's ideals and creating two classes of citizens within the garden cities – renters and owners – with opposing agendas.<sup>71</sup> In the end, however, the pragmatists carried the day, and the garden cities took advantage of the increased flexibility offered by the statutes. A few garden cities, such as Gartenstadt Nürnberg, owned both the land and the dwellings they rented to their members.<sup>72</sup> Others acquired land from local municipalities through *Erbbaurecht* and then rented the buildings they erected. Gartenvorstadt Mannheim and Gartenvorstadt Leipzig-Marienbrunn functioned in this manner. Alternatively, many of the wealthier garden cities, including Gartenstadt Güstrow and Gartenstadt Hopfengarten, were created for civil servants or similarly highly paid workers and catered to their members' desire to own their homes and gardens. As a result, they preferred *Wiederkaufsrecht* to any rental agreement. Yet others, like Gartenstadt Hellerau and Gartenstadt Falkenberg, allowed members to rent or purchase houses according to their wishes. In fact, Hellerau created three distinct types of property relationships based on the intended use of the land. Commercial undertakings and the inhabitants of villas whose rent was over 2,000 Marks per year could purchase land under *Wiederkaufsrecht*. The row houses in the *Kleinhausviertel* (Small House Quarter) were rented out, and the tenants of the houses in the *Landhausviertel* (Villa Quarter), whose rent ranged from 600 to 2,000 Marks per year, entered into a modified *Erbbaurecht* agreement in which they acquired long-term rights to a house but had to provide <sup>4</sup>/<sub>10</sub>

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<sup>70</sup> “Aus der Gartenstadtbewegung,” *Gartenstadt* 2, no. 1-2 (February 1908): 10.

<sup>71</sup> “Aus der Gartenstadtbewegung—Deutschland,” *Gartenstadt* 1, no. 6 (1906-1907): 45.

<sup>72</sup> Geh. Justizrat Erman, “Miete – Erbmiete – Erbbesitz,” 231. The state of Bayern sold the land to Gartenstadt Nürnberg under conditions of *Wiederkaufsrecht*. The contract lasted for 100 years at which point it could be renegotiated for another 100 years if desired.

of the total worth of the house and property as a loan to Gartenstadt Hellerau. This loan was used as a second mortgage to supplement one for  $\frac{6}{10}$  of the property's worth.<sup>73</sup>

The ideal of political autonomy was tied to the questions of land ownership and the acceptability of suburban developments addressed in the first statute. How much, if any, involvement should existing regional or municipal governments have in the construction of garden cities? Howard's concept of the garden city was deeply rooted in the self-help movement, and Hans Kampffmeyer had already acknowledged that a full garden city must have political and economic independence. However, Kampffmeyer also had admitted that federal, municipal and private initiatives would have to work together to solve the housing problem.<sup>74</sup> This collaborative method was more in line with German tendencies, according to the DGG, who asserted that a major difference between the English and the German movements was the amount of government involvement. They claimed that, "We Germans are less a people of private than of governmental initiative."<sup>75</sup> In the end, most garden cities required some degree of government intervention, but local conditions such as land price and sources of capital had a significant impact on their level of autonomy.

A large difference existed between the industrial settlements sustained by the largesse of an enlightened factory owner and the garden suburbs that were mostly member supported.<sup>76</sup> Few

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<sup>73</sup> "Die Gartenstadt Hellerau," in *Die Deutsche Gartenstadt-Bewegung*, 21. All of the information concerning rental agreements can be found in the special reports (*Sonderberichte*) published in *Die Deutsche Gartenstadt-Bewegung* and in the "Review" (*Rundschau*) section at the back of each issue of *Gartenstadt*.

<sup>74</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, "Die Gartenvorstadt Stockfeld bei Straßburg," *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 4 (April 1911): 37.

<sup>75</sup> Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, *Jahres-Bericht 1905-1906*, 5. "Wir Deutschen sind weniger ein Volk privater als staatlicher Initiative."

<sup>76</sup> While the majority of garden cities fell into one of these two camps, other models did exist. The city of Strasbourg created Gartenvorstadt Stockfeld as a means of rehousing those displaced by slum clearance efforts within the city walls. They turned over the construction and administration to a non-profit cooperative but provided heavy subsidies for land and services and guarantees for loans. Gartenvorstadt Leipzig-Marienbrunn, on the other hand, resulted from the desire to create a model housing development in association with the 1913 Internationale

enterprises possessed the autonomy that Karl Schmidt was able to achieve at Hellerau, for example. In 1907, Schmidt, the owner of the Deutsche Werkstätten für Handwerkskunst (German Workshops for Handicraft), began searching for a location for the garden city he planned to build in conjunction with his new workshop buildings. On weekends and holidays, he took bike rides in the country surrounding Dresden and was particularly inspired by some land that straddled the border between the municipalities of Klotsche and Rahnitz. He kept his plans very quiet so as not to drive up land prices in expectation of the firm's move to the area and eventually managed to convince the 73 existing property owners to sell their land to him for a price ranging from 1 to 1.5 Marks per square meter.<sup>77</sup> Once he had acquired the land, Schmidt handed control of the property to a newly founded non-profit garden city corporation (gemeinnützige Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft). Hellerau achieved a remarkable amount of autonomy because it was able to purchase its land outright and because it had industry associated with it from the beginning.

Other wealthy industrialists proceeded in a similar manner, setting up foundations or trusts to oversee the day-to-day administration of the garden cities and the use of funds that the

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Ausstellung für Bau- und Wohnwesen (International Exhibition for Architecture and Housing). Significant variations existed even among the member-supported organizations. For example, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe's membership consisted largely of the educated middle class and included many employees of the national railway and the post office along with banks and insurance companies [Dieter Scheeren, "Die Gartenstadt Karlsruhe-Rüppurr 1907-1932: Wie aus einem enthusiastischen Beginn ein mühevoller Weg wurde," in *Im Grünen wohnen - im Blauen planen*, 146]. Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform, on the other hand, was founded by social democratic metal workers from the Krupp-Gruson-Werke [Kurt Junghanns, *Bruno Taut 1880-1938*. 2nd ed. (Berlin: Elefant Press, 1983), 23].

<sup>77</sup> "Bericht über die Entstehung von Hellerau." [11764 Fa. Deutsche Werkstätten Hellerau, No. 3219, Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden]. I do not have comparative prices for land in Dresden. In general, the price of land acquired for garden cities and housing settlements varied based upon the size of the city and the proximity to the urban center or to other important elements such as industry. Karl Schmidt paid no more than 1.5 Marks per square meter for land approximately 8.5 km from the center of Dresden. Other garden cities paid comparable prices for land. Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform (Magdeburg) paid 1.7 Marks per square meter and Gartenstadt Wankbek (Hamburg) paid 2.7 Marks per square meter. In contrast, land in Britz (Berlin) cost 18 Marks per square meter, land for a settlement called Rechenberg outside Nürnberg cost 13 Marks per square meter and land for the Riederwald settlement outside Frankfurt cost 10 Marks per square meter. [F. Biel, *Wirtschaftliche und technische Gesichtspunkte zur Gartenstadtbewegung* (Leipzig: Verlag von H. A. Ludwig Degener, 1913), 82-89].



industrialists had donated. *Gartenvorstadt* Güstrow, founded by the factory owner F. Dettmann, and Gartenvorstadt Margarethenhöhe, funded by the Margarethe Krupp-Stiftung für Wohnungsfürsorge (Margarethe Krupp Foundation for Housing Provision), are prime examples of garden suburbs founded in this manner.<sup>78</sup> The efforts of the industrialists still remained subject to many of the laws of the local municipalities within which the garden cities resided, however. Even Schmidt required some help from Dresden in that he needed the city to extend a street car line out to Gartenstadt Hellerau to make the settlement more attractive to the inhabitants, especially those not employed by Schmidt's workshop.<sup>79</sup>

A greater variation in the levels of autonomy existed among the garden suburbs that were not affiliated with any industrial firm. Most were funded by member organizations that sold shares for a price of 200 Marks.<sup>80</sup> While some cooperatives such as Gartenstadt Nürnberg were able to raise significant sums through the sale of shares (200,000 Marks in the case of Nürnberg), they could not raise all of the money necessary to purchase land and construct housing upon it.<sup>81</sup> Many found salvation in the generosity of individual donors. For example, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe received a donation of 50,000 Marks from Dr. Friedrich Hettinger, a local leather manufacturer. Even with these significant donations, the garden cities required a source of outside credit, which they found in the funds supplied by the *Landesversicherungsanstalten*

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<sup>78</sup> *Die Deutsche Gartenstadt-Bewegung*, 47 and 52. Margarethenhöhe was simply one of a number of industrial settlements built by the Krupp Firm. Margarethe Krupp founded the trust in celebration of her daughter's marriage. Margarethenhöhe was open to inhabitants who were not employed by the Krupp Firm, thereby negating the standard criticism of such industrial settlements, namely that the employer gained undue influence over the workers who feared losing their housing.

<sup>79</sup> Deutsche Werkstätten für Handwerkskunst Dresden G.m.b.H. to the Finanzdeputation B des Sächsischen Landtages zu Dresden, 22 April 1908 [Bestandssignatur: 9.1.36, Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft Hellerau mbH, Akte 27, Stadtarchiv Dresden].

<sup>80</sup> *Die Deutsche Gartenstadt-Bewegung*, 54. "While the shares of most other garden city cooperatives are fixed at 200 M., in Wandsbek they cost 500 M." (Während die Geschäftsanteile bei den meisten anderen Gartenstadtgenossenschaften auf 200 M. festgesetzt sind, betragen sie in Wandsbek 500 M.)

<sup>81</sup> Emil Behnisch, "Rundschau, Gartenstadt Nürnberg," *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 12 (December 1911): 177.

(Regional Insurance Boards). Neither these funds, nor the cooperative building societies which utilized the funds for the construction of garden cities, would have been possible without two laws that the federal government passed between 1889 and 1890: the *Genossenschaftsgesetz* (Cooperative Law) and the *Invaliditätsgesetz* or Invalidity and Old Age Insurance Act.

The first law, the *Genossenschaftsgesetz* (1889), made possible the creation of cooperatives with limited liability, a step that allowed building societies, important precursors of the garden city cooperatives, to flourish.<sup>82</sup> It is important to note that while many critics - including Paul Kampffmeyer in his book *Die Baugenossenschaften im Rahmen eines nationalen Wohnungsreformplanes* – acknowledged the limited success of the *Baugenossenschaften* in cities such as Berlin, their output could not hope to meet the need for housing without significant concomitant economic and political reforms. Nevertheless, the DGG looked to *Baugenossenschaften* as inspiration for the organization of garden city cooperatives, in part because the building societies provided a viable model of communal property.

As with many of the reforms adopted by the DGG, building societies developed almost simultaneously in England and in Germany. However, as Bernhard Kampffmeyer explained, the traditional English building societies functioned as mortgage banks, providing credit so that members could purchase land and build a house. German building societies, on the other hand, acquired land and constructed housing, which was then rented to contributing members. In this they more closely resembled the Copartnership Tenant Societies that developed in England around 1900 and were active in places such as Letchworth. The Copartnership Tenants Societies had one advantage over the independent German *Baugenossenschaften*, which usually worked in existing cities on individual parcels of land, in that they were able to acquire large tracts of land

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<sup>82</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, “Allgemeiner Bericht über die Gartenstadtbewegung,” 1.

and create coherent settlements.<sup>83</sup> Partnering *Baugenossenschaften* with the garden city cooperatives allowed the Germans to achieve similar goals. Ever the pragmatists, the DGG also allowed other organizational forms, such as the *gemeinnützigen Gesellschaft* (non-profit corporation) or *Aktiengesellschaft mit beschränkter Dividende* (joint-stock company with limited dividends) to take root. The DGG hoped that these corporations would attract outside investment by philanthropically minded individuals who still wanted a small return on their investment; the dividends were usually limited to 4%. These limited dividend corporations were also modeled on the financial structure of the Copartnership Tenant Societies. Many garden cities such as Hellerau and Falkenberg combined the two organizational types, using a corporation with limited dividends to acquire land and then delegating the construction of workers' housing to a *Baugenossenschaft*.<sup>84</sup>

The second law, the *Invaliditätsgesetz* (1890), authorized the *Landesversicherungsanstalten* (National Insurance Agencies) to make their ample funds available at very low interest rates for the construction of workers' housing.<sup>85</sup> Most of the garden cities received significant help from the *Landesversicherungsanstalten*. For example, Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform outside Magdeburg received 200,000 Marks from the *Landesversicherungsanstalt Sachsen-Anhalt* in 1913 alone, while Gartenvorstadt Stockfeld in Strasbourg received 1 Million Marks at the inception of their project, and Gartenstadt Hüttenau received an initial loan to cover the cost of

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<sup>83</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, "Englische und Deutsche Baugenossenschaften," *Aus englischen Gartenstädte*, 80-84.

<sup>84</sup> *Die Deutsche Gartenstadtbewegung*, 18-19 and "Die Gartenvorstadt Falkenberg bei Berlin," *Gartenstadt* 7, no. 5 (May 1913): 83.

<sup>85</sup> Nicholas Bullock and James Read, *The Movement for Housing Reform in Germany and France 1840-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 230-231.

land acquisition and then another to build houses and streets.<sup>86</sup> Of course, other credit organizations often contributed money as well. In Karlsruhe, the garden city received mortgages in the amount of 338,665 Marks from the Landesversicherungsanstalt Baden, 38,000 Marks from the Arbeiterpensionskasse der badischen Staatsbahnen (Workers' Pension Fund of the State Railroad of Baden) and 148,540 Marks from other public credit institutions (*öffentliche Kassen*).<sup>87</sup>

Even with these funds, however, many garden cities required further help from local municipalities. This help came in a variety of forms, including monetary contributions and subsidies for land and services. Rather than simply donating money to the cooperatives, municipalities would purchase shares in the endeavors. The cities of Mannheim, Karlsruhe and Nürnberg, for example, purchased one hundred shares in their local garden city *Genossenschaften* for the not inconsequential sum of 20,000 Marks.<sup>88</sup> The purchase of shares gave the cities a voice in the decisions made by the cooperatives, although not disproportionate power since votes were assigned based on membership rather than number of shares. Many

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<sup>86</sup> "Rundschau, Gartenstadtkolonie Magdeburg-Reform e.G.m.b.H.," *Gartenstadt* 8, no. 4 (April 1914): 81 and "Rückschau und Ausschau," *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 1 (January 1911): 2. See also *Die Deutsche Gartenstadt-Bewegung*, 73.

<sup>87</sup> "Rundschau, Karlsruhe," *Gartenstadt* 8, no. 6 (June 1914): 116. The reliance on funds from the Landesversicherungsanstalten would cause problems for the garden cities when the federal government began to limit the funds available through these channels. Franz Staudinger, among many others, advocated for the creation of *Sparkasse* (savings banks) that would simultaneously provide workers with limited returns on any savings they placed with the banks and supply the garden cities with funds for their expansion ["Die Anlage der Spargelder," *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 1 (January 1912): 1-5]. This method of raising capital had encountered great success at the *Obstbaukolonie Eden*. Many garden cities including Nürnberg, Karlsruhe and Mannheim experimented with the creation of *Sparkasse*, but it is unclear whether those garden cities used those funds to finance further construction [Emil Behnisch, "Über Schuldverschreibungen," *Gartenstadt* 8, no. 3, (March 1914): 58-61].

<sup>88</sup> "Rundschau, Gartenstadt Nürnberg," *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 3 (March 1910): 35 and Dr. Otto Moericke, "Rundschau, Mannheim," *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 8 (August 1912): 147. See also *Festschrift zum 75jährigen Bestehen der Gartenstadt Karlsruhe eG* (Karlsruhe, 1982), 32.

cities also facilitated the garden city cooperatives' acquisition of capital by serving as guarantors for mortgages acquired from the *Landesversicherungsanstalten*.<sup>89</sup>

Even cities that did not contribute money directly to the construction of garden cities supported their construction through the provision of inexpensively priced land. Of course, part of the reason land subsidies were necessary was that the garden suburbs were built on more expensive land closer to the city instead of more remote agricultural land. Land costs also determined whether the garden city or garden suburb could purchase the land outright or only leased the land from the municipal government.<sup>90</sup> In the case of Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, the Großherzogliche Bad. Forst- und Domänenverwaltung (Grand Duke of Badens' Forest and Estate Authority) agreed to provide the garden city with twelve hectares of land at a price of 3 Marks per square meter.<sup>91</sup> They estimated the value of the land to be 6 Marks per square meter and so the garden city received a significant subsidy on the land as long as it remained the property of the cooperative. The Großherzogliche Bad. Forst- und Domänenverwaltung reserved the right to levy a penalty of 3 Marks per square meter for any land that was sold or leased by the cooperative. This penalty countered the claims of unfairness made by the property owners in that any property disposed of by the garden city would revert to the original market price, thereby negating the earlier subsidy on the land and any excessive profits derived as a result of

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<sup>89</sup> Dr. Otto Moericke, "Rundschau, Gartenvorstadt Mannheim," *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 6 (June 1911): 74 and "Rückschau und Ausschau," *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 1 (January 1911): 2.

<sup>90</sup> In a lecture on land relationships within Gartenvorstadt Leipzig-Marienbrunn, Dr. Ermann, Justizrat from Münster, stated that a spacious garden city could be built on the relatively cheap land of Hellerau, but the much higher prices of land in Marienbrunn, required the creation a compact garden suburb on land leased from the city ["Das Erbbaurecht und die Gartenvorstadt Leipzig-Marienbrunn," *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 5 (May 1912): 78].

<sup>91</sup> This agreement resulted from long negotiations with the government who originally had offered the land at a price of two Mark per square meter. The final agreement raised the price to three Marks but provided the land for streets and plazas for free ["Eingabe an die zweite Kammer der Badischen Landstände," *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 4 (April 1910): 41 and "Rundschau, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe," *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 5 (May 1910): 57].

that subsidy.<sup>92</sup> Most of the garden cities received similar land subsidies from their local municipalities. Strasbourg sold a parcel of land measuring 123,930 square meters to Gartenvorstadt Stockfeld for a price of only 60 pfennig per square meter, while Gartenstadt Nürnberg acquired 65 hectares from the city at a cost of 80 pfennig per square meter under the provision of *Wiederkaufsrecht*.<sup>93</sup>

A few cities such as Mannheim also pledged to cover the costs of street and sewer construction and the connection to municipal gas and water supplies.<sup>94</sup> More often, the garden cities, including Karlsruhe and Nürnberg, had difficulties raising the funds for the construction of streets or sewerage and turned to the municipalities for help. Archival records from Mannheim and Karlsruhe, as well as updates printed in *Gartenstadt* on the progress of the garden cities in Nürnberg, Magdeburg and Scopau reveal the difficulties the garden cities had in getting the municipal governments to honor their promises.<sup>95</sup> Repeated delays due to lack of funds, technical problems or political opposition held up construction of sewers in many instances and caused innumerable problems for residents. Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, for instance, battled problems with the disposal of sewage until January of 1927, when the city finally connected the settlement to the main sewer.<sup>96</sup>

Subsidies such as these were possible because many municipalities had acquired significant swaths of land within their borders in an attempt to control its use and were taking

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<sup>92</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, "Rundschau, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe," *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 6 (June 1910): 69.

<sup>93</sup> *Die Deutsche Gartenstadt-Bewegung*, 36 and 56.

<sup>94</sup> Dr. Otto Moericke, "Rundschau, Gartenvorstadt-Genossenschaft Mannheim," *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 10 (October 1911): 145.

<sup>95</sup> "Rundschau, Karlsruhe," *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 5 and 6 (May and June 1911): 59, 73 and "Die Beseitigung und Verwertung der festen und flüssigen Abfallstoffe in Gartenstadtsiedlungen," *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 9 (September 1912): 155.

<sup>96</sup> Georg Botz, *Die Gartenstadt Karlsruhe 1907-1932* (Karlsruhe: Braun, 1932), 16.

over the provision of basic services such as water, sewage disposal, electricity and public transportation. Brian Ladd described the increase in the power of municipalities over the course of the nineteenth century as career bureaucrats replaced the aristocracy in the ranks of government.<sup>97</sup> The fragmented nature of the German state with its multiple centers of power, may also explain the emphasis on municipal power even after unification in 1871. English observers praised the German legal framework that gave municipalities control over land use according to an agreed upon master plan. They also admired *Lex Adickes*, the law named after Franz Adickes, the pioneering mayor of Frankfurt, which granted municipalities such as Frankfurt and Cologne the power to reparcel their land. Ewart Culpin, the general secretary of the English movement, stated in 1913 that the English municipalities were only then acquiring similar control over land use and acquisition.<sup>98</sup> Few German municipalities were able to initiate the sweeping housing reform achieved in places like Ulm and Freiburg, whose small size made the provision of single-family housing much easier.<sup>99</sup> However, most German cities had acquired land at their borders as they struggled to address the complexities of expansion and the provision of housing for their citizens. They viewed the garden city movement as a possible solution to both of these pressing problems and were willing to provide subsidized land to this end.

Jörg Schadt points out that, in southwestern Germany, a coalition of left-leaning liberals often associated with Friedrich Naumann's Nationalsozialen Verein (National Social Society) and revisionist Social Democrats worked together to bring the garden cities to fruition. They

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<sup>97</sup> Ladd, 15, 29.

<sup>98</sup> Ewart G. Culpin, "Der Town Planning Act," *Gartenstadt* 7, no. 4 (April 1913): 64.

<sup>99</sup> Ladd, 172.

were joined by industrialists and representatives of the women's movement, who applauded the rights granted to women in the garden cities.<sup>100</sup> Despite the prevalence of left-leaning politicians in southwestern cities such as Mannheim, Karlsruhe and Strasbourg, it is difficult to make a definitive correlation between the willingness of any municipality to support the efforts of the DGG and its political orientation. Cynical observers could see the cities' attempts to assuage the most glaring aspects of the housing problem as a desire to preserve the status quo. Similarly, arguments such as those made by Hans Thoma, an instructor at the Karlsruhe Kunstakademie and member of the expanded board of the DGG, to the Ersten badischen Kammer (Upper Chamber of Baden) provided rationales for more conservative politicians to support the creation of garden cities. Thoma spoke of people's longing for contact with nature, especially in the crowded cities, but he also linked the preservation of traditional family relationships, which many felt had been undermined by the processes of industrialization and urbanization, to the preservation of order within the state. The garden city with its lower density and emphasis on single-family homes could address both of these important issues. He declared:

...an orderly family life is arguably regarded as the foundation for an orderly civic life, so that everything that the state does to fortify and maintain the sense of family will certainly bear good fruit. – The family can only flourish in a healthy manner, however, where there are dwellings that can provide those families a certain guarantee of permanence.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Schadt, 103. Brian Ladd speaks of the divisions among capitalist interests in the city, in particular the tensions between the industrialists and the property owners. "They saw the big capitalists using the city administration and city council as reliable tools to promote social reforms, the costs of which were borne by the home owners, either directly through increased taxes and fees, or indirectly, through policies that depressed property values and held down rents" [Ladd, 177].

<sup>101</sup> "Hans Thoma über die Gartenstadtbewegung," *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 9 (September 1910): 98. "...ein geordnetes Familienleben ist wohl als die Grundlage eines geordneten Staatslebens anzusehen, so daß wohl alles, was zur Befestigung und Erhaltung des Familiensinns von Staats wegen geschehen kann, gewiß gute Früchte bringen wird. – Die Familie kann aber wohl nur dort in ihrem gesunden Wesen gedeihen, wo Wohnstätten sind, die ihr eine gewisse Garantie der Beständigkeit gewährleisten können."



When placed side by side with the many idealistic arguments regarding the provision of better housing to the least well-off members of society, Thoma's arguments again reveal the willingness of the DGG and many of the *Ortsgruppe* to adopt whatever methods were necessary to achieve their goals. Hans Kampffmeyer and his cohorts, along with their supporters in city government, were guided by pragmatism as much as by idealism.

## Chapter 5

### Camillo Sitte and Urban Planning Trends within the German Garden City Movement

Aesthetics was not the primary concern of the German garden city movement. As Adolf Otto, co-founder and board member of the DGG, stated in 1911 when many of the local chapters began to build garden cities: “The aims of our movement are naturally also artistic, but they are in the first place social, ethical and economic reform.”<sup>1</sup> This statement partly accounts for the difficulty in determining the exact aesthetic preferences of the organization. The pragmatism evident in the DGG’s approach to land ownership and financing affected its stance on architecture and urban planning as well. Beyond a few articles praising Heinrich Tessenow’s work at Hellerau or the efforts of Parker and Unwin at Letchworth and Hampstead, very few overt suggestions for aesthetic models exist in the pages of *Gartenstadt*.<sup>2</sup> The editors rarely, if ever, published criticisms of legitimate efforts to create garden cities, although they did attack what they referred to as “*pseudo-Gartenstadt*” or capitalistic enterprises that adopted the garden city name as a way of promoting speculative endeavors. These “pseudo garden cities” confused the term for the general public by focusing too narrowly on the physical qualities of the settlements – namely low-density housing and gardens – and omitting the socio-economic implications of the movement.<sup>3</sup>

No single prescription for the design of a garden city or the buildings within it existed. As Bruno Taut declared in a lecture given at the DGG’s general meeting in 1913:

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<sup>1</sup> Adolf Otto, “Gartenstadt und ‘Gartenstadt,’” *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 2 (February 1911): 21. “Unsere Bewegung bezweckt eine natürlich auch künstlerische, aber in erster Linie sozial-ethische und wirtschaftliche Reform.”

<sup>2</sup> On Tessenow see Hans Kampffmeyer, “Bücher, »Der Wohnhausbau«,” *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 1 (January 1910): or Emil Behnisch, “Rundschau, Hellerau,” *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 5 (May 1911): 57. On Parker and Unwin see Bernhard Kampffmeyer, “Unsere Soziale Studienreise nach England,” in *Aus englischen Gartenstädte*, 5-11 or Hans Kampffmeyer, “Aus englischen Gartenstädten,” *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 1 (January 1911): 8-9.

<sup>3</sup> Adolf Otto, “Gartenstadt und ‘Gartenstadt,’” 20.

I am of the opinion that there are no rules, as lovely as all such rules are and as scientifically as they are founded. There are no rules of which one can say: this is the principle! It is always very dangerous to elevate the particular to a principle. 'Principium' means beginning. Yes, one can begin from there, but to exhaust this principle appears to me to be exceedingly dangerous.<sup>4</sup>

These statements are not meant to imply that aesthetics had *no* importance within the German garden city movement, however. While it takes effort, the observer, if he is so inclined, can piece together the aesthetic framework of the DGG through articles that appeared in *Gartenstadt* and through the built work of the movement. In fact, drawing on the works of Camillo Sitte, Hermann Muthesius, Theodor Fischer, Paul Schultze-Naumburg, Heinrich Tessenow and Richard Riemerschmid, along with a host of now forgotten architects and critics, the leaders of the garden city movement synthesized contemporary debates on the aesthetics of the city into a flexible platform of low-density, standardized housing, grouped together as the visual embodiment of a coherent community. All of these settlements featured streets differentiated in size according to use and one or more squares surrounded by public buildings which combined to form the visual and communal heart of the design.

The DGG embraced a general approach to design that focused on simplicity, economy and the particularities of place. This general approach was necessary for a number of reasons. First, the membership of the DGG included a broad range of reformers with differing political and aesthetic preferences. Second, local chapters controlled the construction of each settlement and did not always take into account the artistic preferences of the national organization. Third, the garden cities were built in the decade before the major modernist experiments in housing, when multiple pathways presented themselves as possible routes to a "modern" style of

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<sup>4</sup> Bruno Taut, "Kleinhausbau und Landaufschließung vom Standpunkt des Architekten," *Gartenstadt* 8, no. 1 (1914): 12. "Ich bin der Meinung, es gibt keine Regel, so schön alle solche Regeln sind und so wissenschaftlich sie auch begründet sind. Es gibt keine Regel, von der man sagen kann: das ist das Prinzip! Es ist immer sehr gefährlich, eine einzelne zum Prinzip zu erheben. »Principium« heißt Anfang. Ja, man kann davon ausgehen; aber dieses Prinzip bis zum Ende abzuhetzen, scheint mir doch außerordentlich gefährlich zu sein."

architecture and planning. As a result, many of the garden cities present a fascinating blend of traditional and proto-modernist forms. Finally, economic and aesthetic considerations influenced each other in complex and unexpected ways in many of these designs.

Despite this complexity, all incarnations of the garden city were a response to the problems of the industrial metropolis in two very important ways. As Karl Ernst Osthaus observed:

Earlier, when one heard the word “garden cities,” one understood these to be cities with many large gardens. In the age of the tax on the common value, however, these cities lose their ornaments more and more and only those green areas remain, which earlier were palace or court gardens but now have been converted to public use. The new “garden city” – which the German Garden City Association strives to create – rests on other conditions. It is a child of the modern metropolis, grown out of the hunger for light, air, motion and health.<sup>5</sup>

Osthaus and the other members of the DGG blamed speculators in land and buildings for the horrible conditions in the existing cities. They described families piled upon each other in *Mietskaserne* (rental barracks), which were constructed so as to create the greatest wealth for their owners, not to satisfy the basic needs of their inhabitants. The single-family homes of the garden city, along with the gardens provided for all inhabitants, would address the “hunger for light and air” that Osthaus attributed to city dwellers. Equally important for the DGG was the idea of controlled urban growth. The organization saw the lack of coherent urban plans or, alternatively, plans imposed too late in a city’s growth as one of the many reasons that speculators had been able to manipulate land values for their own benefit. The greed of

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<sup>5</sup> Karl Ernst Osthaus, “Gartenstadt und Städtebau,” in *Bauordnung und Bebauungsplan: Ihre Bedeutung für die Gartenstadtbewegung* (Leipzig: Renaissance-Verlag Robert Federn, [1911]), 33. “Unter ‘Gartenstädten’ verstand man früher Städte mit vielen und großen Gärten. Im Zeitalter der Steuer nach dem gemeinen Wert verlieren diese Städte ihren Schmuck aber mehr und mehr, und nur jene Grünflächen, die, als alte Schloß- oder Hofgärten, zeitig in öffentlichen Besitz übergingen, sind den Städten erhalten geblieben. Die neue ‘Gartenstadt’, wie sie die Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft anstrebt, beruht auf anderen Voraussetzungen. Sie ist ein Kind der modernen Großstadt, erwachsen aus dem Hunger nach Licht, Luft, Bewegung und Gesundheit.”

individual investors rather than the needs of the community shaped development in existing cities. Healthy cities, in contrast, would function as coherent organisms, unified artistic wholes that housed diverse but cohesive communities. In the eyes of the DGG, garden cities provided the best model for a rationally organized urban entity. As new creations, they could be governed more easily than existing cities by overarching plans. Hans Bernoulli, who designed an early plan for Gartenstadt Falkenberg and collaborated with Hans Kampffmeyer on the original plan for Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform in Magdeburg, viewed the garden cities in exactly this light. He stated:

The will to the deliberate exercise of power and the methodical development of a city as an organic ensemble speaks forth from the plans of Stockfeld, Hüttenau, even from the garden suburb of Karlsruhe. Most strongly, however, in Esch & Anke's plan for the Mannheim garden suburb.<sup>6</sup>

In fact, Bernoulli followed this idea to its natural conclusion, arguing that “Only an organization will create organically. For that reason, the new city will be built by the cooperative garden city movement.”<sup>7</sup>

This last sentence points to the paradox inherent in the garden city propaganda, a paradox found in much early twentieth-century aesthetic theory. The harmony of the garden cities' physical fabric was perceived simultaneously as the reflection of the higher level of economic, social and cultural development found within its confines and as a tool for achieving that level of organization where it did not yet exist. Raymond Unwin stated it most clearly:

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<sup>6</sup> Hans Bernoulli, “Die neue Stadt,” *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 9 (September 1911): 111. “Der Wille zu bewußter Machtentfaltung und planvollem Aufbau einer Stadt als einem organischen Ganzen spricht aus den Plänen von Stockfeld, Hüttenau, selbst von der Gartenvorstadt Karlsruhe. Am stärksten indes aus dem von Esch & Anke aufgestellten Plan der Mannheimer Gartenvorstadt.”

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 112. “Nur eine Organisation wird Organisches schaffen. Darum wird die neue Stadt von der genossenschaftlichen Gartenstadtbewegung gebaut werden.”

The community principle makes not only each individual house seem more attractive but also gives the entirety of the buildings that unity which derives from a communal life and which finds its expression in the harmonious beauty of the overall picture. And this harmony of exterior form works retroactively on the life that blooms under its influence, developing more intimate federation and offering broader opportunities for communal life.<sup>8</sup>

How did the planners of the garden cities propose to create unified urban entities reflecting the communal life of the inhabitants? It certainly helped that the entirety of a garden city could be planned, often by a single person, before construction began and that any future expansions could be incorporated into the plan from the outset. Even more important, as Karl Ernst Osthaus recognized, the unified, organic appearance of the garden cities resulted from the fact that buildings were never treated as separate entities but rather as part of a larger streetscape, following in the best traditions of urban planning from the Egyptian to the Baroque. While stylistic uniformity could help to create the desired feeling of coherence, superficial elements like decoration were not as important as the spatial impression produced by the buildings.<sup>9</sup>

This emphasis on the spatial effects of architecture, one component of what was often referred to as the streetscape or *Strassenbild*, dominated urban planning discourse at the turn of the twentieth century. Jean-Francois Lejeune traced the development of ideas concerning the body's movement through space in an article on late nineteenth-century architectural theorists. He argued that the emphasis on space in architecture began in the mid-nineteenth century with Gottfried Semper's introduction of the "three spatial moments of aesthetic perception linked to

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<sup>8</sup> Raymond Unwin, "Baugenossenschaft und Städtebau," *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 1 (January 1910): 2. "Das Gemeinschaftsprinzip bringt es daher nicht allein mit sich, daß jedes einzelne Haus anziehender wirken wird, sondern gibt auch der Gesamtheit der Bauten jene Einheitlichkeit, welche entspringend aus einem Gemeinschaftsleben ihren Ausdruck in der harmonischen Schönheit des Gesamtbilds findet. Und diese Harmonie der äußeren Form muß ihrerseits wieder rückwirken auf das Leben, das unter seinem Einfluß aufblüht, innigeren Zusammenschluß fördernd, und weitere Betätigungsmöglichkeiten für ein Gemeinschaftsleben bietend."

<sup>9</sup> Karl Ernst Osthaus, "Die Bedeutung der Gartenstadtbewegung für die künstlerische Entwicklung unserer Zeit," in *Die Deutsche Gartenstadt-Bewegung*, 99-100.

the human body: height, breadth, and depth.”<sup>10</sup> Likewise, three of the four components of Semper’s primitive building – the wall, the roof and the plinth – served to enclose and define space, in addition to providing protection from the elements. Lejeune followed this idea through the work of various writers such as August Schmarsow, who, in a lecture given at the University of Leipzig in 1893, declared that “bodily movement through space rather than the stationary perception of form was the essence of architecture.”<sup>11</sup> But it was Camillo Sitte who first discussed spatial enclosure in relationship to city planning in his 1889 book *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen* (City Planning According to Artistic Principles).<sup>12</sup>

The central idea of Sitte’s book – that artistic considerations needed to be reintroduced into the practice of city planning – was reflected in its title and played into the general cultural pessimism of the time. Sitte believed that earlier city plans resulted from intuitive artistic decisions made by planners and architects utterly imbued with the artistic principles of their society. Since that artistic intuition no longer existed, Sitte used the rational tools of his era to analyze successful examples of earlier cities. He then distilled what he learned into a number of simple rules that could be applied to any city plan. While he presented medieval, Renaissance and Baroque plans as successful examples, he never endorsed a particular architectural style or implied that modern planners should copy those eras blindly. Like the leaders of the DGG, he

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<sup>10</sup> Jean-François Lejeune, “Schinkel, Sitte, and Loos: The ‘Body in the Visible’” in *Sitte, Hegemann and the Metropolis*, edited by Charles C. Bohl and Jean-François Lejeune (London: Routledge, 2009), 81. For further discussion of Semper’s ideas on the centrality of spatial design in architecture and his influence on men such as August Schmarsow and Adolf Loos see Harry Francis Mallgrave *Gottfried Semper: Architect of the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 290 and 368-379.

<sup>11</sup> August Schmarsow, “The Essence of Architectural Creation.” Lecture given at the University of Leipzig, 1893 as quoted in Lejeune “Schinkel, Sitte, and Loos: The ‘Body in the Visible,’” 81.

<sup>12</sup> Lejeune “Schinkel, Sitte, and Loos: The ‘Body in the Visible,’” 81. George and Christiane Collins indicate that Sitte was well-versed in Semper’s ideas. One of his earliest articles elaborated upon Semper’s city-planning ideas [George and Christiane Collins, *Camillo Sitte and the Birth of Modern City Planning*, Columbia University Studies in Art History and Archaeology, no 3 (New York: Random House, 1965), 42].

was more concerned with process, with providing a general set of rules that urban planners could follow to reintroduce artistic elements into city planning.

Sitte condemned modern city planners who focused too exclusively on technical concerns like street patterns, building parcels and traffic. He felt they attempted to impose artificial systems on cities – in particular the grid system –and ignored idiosyncratic elements of the site, such as changes in elevation and the presence of existing roads, bodies of water or historical buildings. Not only might these elements make the blind implementation of a predetermined system difficult, their elimination removed all distinguishing characteristics from the site, leaving behind a monotonous cityscape and making it difficult for inhabitants to navigate within that monotony.<sup>13</sup> In contrast, the artistic city planner should know his terrain well and use its irregularities as inspiration for his plan.

In a similar vein, Sitte argued that modern city planners ignored the importance of sensory dimensions and the fact that the physical setting of the city had a strong psychological, even spiritual, impact on its inhabitants.<sup>14</sup> He, in turn, focused mostly on what was immediately perceptible to the spectator as he or she moved through the city, usually a single street or plaza. Sitte compared plazas to the rooms of a house, maintaining that the “main requirement for a plaza, as for a room, is the enclosed character of its space.”<sup>15</sup> For this reason, Sitte advocated the use of turbine plazas in which all of the streets approaching a given plaza open onto it at a different angle, thereby ensuring the least possible disruption of the sense of enclosure because no more than one view out of the square was possible at any given time. A comparable sense of

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<sup>13</sup> Camillo Sitte, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, trans. George R. Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins (New York: Dover Publications, Inc. 1986), 266-267.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 141, 229. This resonates with ideas expressed in *Gartenstadt* though the DGG focused on the effect of a family’s dwelling on their psychological and moral health. See Hans Kampffmeyer, “Die Gartenstadt in Ihrer Kulturellen und Wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung,” 107.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 170.



enclosure was important for streets as well, and Sitte counseled planners to avoid numerous disruptive openings created by cross-streets.<sup>16</sup> This did not mean that every road had to curve, however, as even long perspectival vistas could maintain a sense of enclosure if they terminated in a grand architectural gesture such as a palace.

Sitte's ideas were extraordinarily important to those involved in the garden city movement; traces of his language and ideas can be found throughout the publications and built work of the DGG. Hans Kampffmeyer's repeated condemnations of modern city planning as a creation of the compass and the T-square and his exhortations that architects should adapt the plans of garden cities to the peculiarities of the terrain reveal his familiarity with Sitte's ideas.<sup>17</sup> Personal letters indicate that he had discussed the book with his wife in some detail. In 1909, Hilde Kampffmeyer wrote to her husband, who was traveling on one of his many lecture circuits to promote the garden city, and reminded him to send her Sitte's *Städtebau* as she had "a great desire to read it and finally had the time to do so."<sup>18</sup> Of course, even when architects had read Sitte, as Kampffmeyer had, it is difficult to prove how much they were inspired by the Austrian planner and how much they were influenced by his followers such as Theodor Goecke, Cornelius Gurlitt, or Heinrich Henrici. Kampffmeyer himself mentions these men in the same breath with Sitte and suggests that planners look to *Der Städtebau* (Town Planning), the magazine they

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid, 224.

<sup>17</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, "Die Gartenstadt in ihrer kulturellen und wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung," 112. "Nehmen wir nun einmal an, eine derartige Gesellschaft habe ein günstig gelegenes Gelände gekauft. Da gälte es zunächst einen Stadtplan zu entwerfen, der sich der Eigenart des Terrains und den besonderen praktischen Bedürfnissen der künftigen Einwohnerschaft eng anpaßt." Hans Kampffmeyer repeats this same sentence verbatim on page 11 of *Gartenstadt und Ästhetische Kultur*. A few pages earlier he mentioned problems with modern city plans: "Wie entsetzlich nüchtern ist da schon der Stadtplan. Man sieht es dem elenden Geschöpf an, dass es von Zirkel und Reisschiene aus Pflichtgefühl und nicht aus Liebe gezeugt wurde."

<sup>18</sup> Hilde Kampffmeyer to Hans Kampffmeyer, 12 March 1909. Kampffmeyer Archive, *Familienbriefe und ergänzter Lebenslauf*, 54. "Vergiß nicht „Sitte, Städtebau“ mitzuschicken, ich habe große Lust und auch Zeit dazu." A few weeks later, in a letter of 30 March 1909, she reported that she had started to read it and was very interested in the material.

cofounded, for guidance.<sup>19</sup> And as with any complex planning task, a complicated web of factors including economic considerations and local planning traditions often motivated the design of the garden cities in equal measure to the aesthetic theories of Sitte or the preferences of the designer.

Certainly the idea that a town should respect the environmental and historical peculiarities of its site had become commonplace in the nearly two decades that elapsed between the initial publication of Sitte's work and the construction of the first German garden cities. It should come as no surprise then, that this idea surfaced in the publications of the DGG. Alfred Abendroth, a city planner who was one of the earliest members of the DGG, and Dr. Hermann Schmidt, a supporter of the proposed garden city outside Munich, warned designers to avoid schematic formulas in the creation of urban plans.<sup>20</sup> These seemingly banal words of advice contain an implied criticism of city planners who created street layouts by applying standard patterns without any consideration for the particularities of site. Similarly, Richard Riemerschmid cautioned planners against a false feeling for beauty that sacrificed all irregularities to a plan devised with a ruler and angle.<sup>21</sup> Riemerschmid was an influential Munich-based furniture designer and architect, as well as the future son-in-law of Karl Schmidt, the founder of the Deutsche Werkstätten. The two men had worked together on furniture designs

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<sup>19</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, *Gartenstadt und Ästhetische Kultur*, 10.

<sup>20</sup> A. Abendroth, *Die Grossstadt als Städtegründerin*, 15 and Dr. Hermann Schmidt, "Das Gartenstadtprojekt München-Perlach," *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 5 (May 1910): 50.

<sup>21</sup> R. Riemerschmid, "Das Arbeiterwohnhaus. Grundriss und Aussehen, Innenausbau und Einrichtung," *Gartenstadt Nummer of Hohe Warte* 3 (1906-1907): 139. "Er wird dann nicht damit anfangen, mit Lineal und Winkelmaß auf dem Papier abzuteilen, er wird nicht einem vermeintlichen Schönheitsgefühl – das in Wirklichkeit nur eine Verwechslung ist zwischen ordnungsmäßig, auch dem stumpfen Sinn einleuchtend und schön – Opfer bringen durch Einebnen, durch Beseitigen jeder Unregelmäßigkeit, die sich dem Lineal störend in den Weg...." This quote applies equally well to the plan of a city or an individual building. Both required sensitivity to the particularities of site and program.

before Schmidt approached Riemerschmid to develop a master plan for his proposed garden city outside Dresden.

Riemerschmid's design for Hellerau provides an excellent example of a plan adapted to the particular conditions of its site. Gently curved streets follow the contours of the land, especially in the *Kleinhausviertel* (small house quarter), which was comprised mostly of row houses (Figure 23). Riemerschmid used several techniques to emphasize the relationship between the land and the streets of the settlement. In many instances, the movement of the street is exaggerated by the fact that the row houses follow the *Strassenfluchtlinie* or street line (Figures 24-25). Often, elements of the buildings echo the natural gradient of the site in a manner consistent with Raymond Unwin's ideas on the topic. In his 1909 treatise *Town Planning in Practice: An Introduction to the Art of Designing Cities and Suburbs*, which the editorial staff of *Gartenstadt* heartily recommended to the membership of the DGG, Unwin stated:

He will also use the breaks in his building line in conjunction with the breaks in the roof line to help in the effect he is aiming at, which effect may be of various kinds; either he may seek to disguise the hill or to emphasise it....<sup>22</sup>

Along Am Grünen Zipfel, the street that leads from the market plaza to the factory area, the roofline echoes the change in elevation, stepping down the slope in gentle increments approximately every second house. Riemerschmid further emphasized the descent of the street by drawing the viewer's eye along the shingled overhang separating the first and second stories of the houses; this overhang ripples along the facades marking every curve in the street and every change in elevation (Figure 26). Elsewhere, the stone plinths of the buildings, whose color and

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<sup>22</sup> Raymond Unwin, *Town Planning in Practice: An Introduction to the Art of Designing Cities and Suburbs* (New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1971), 371.

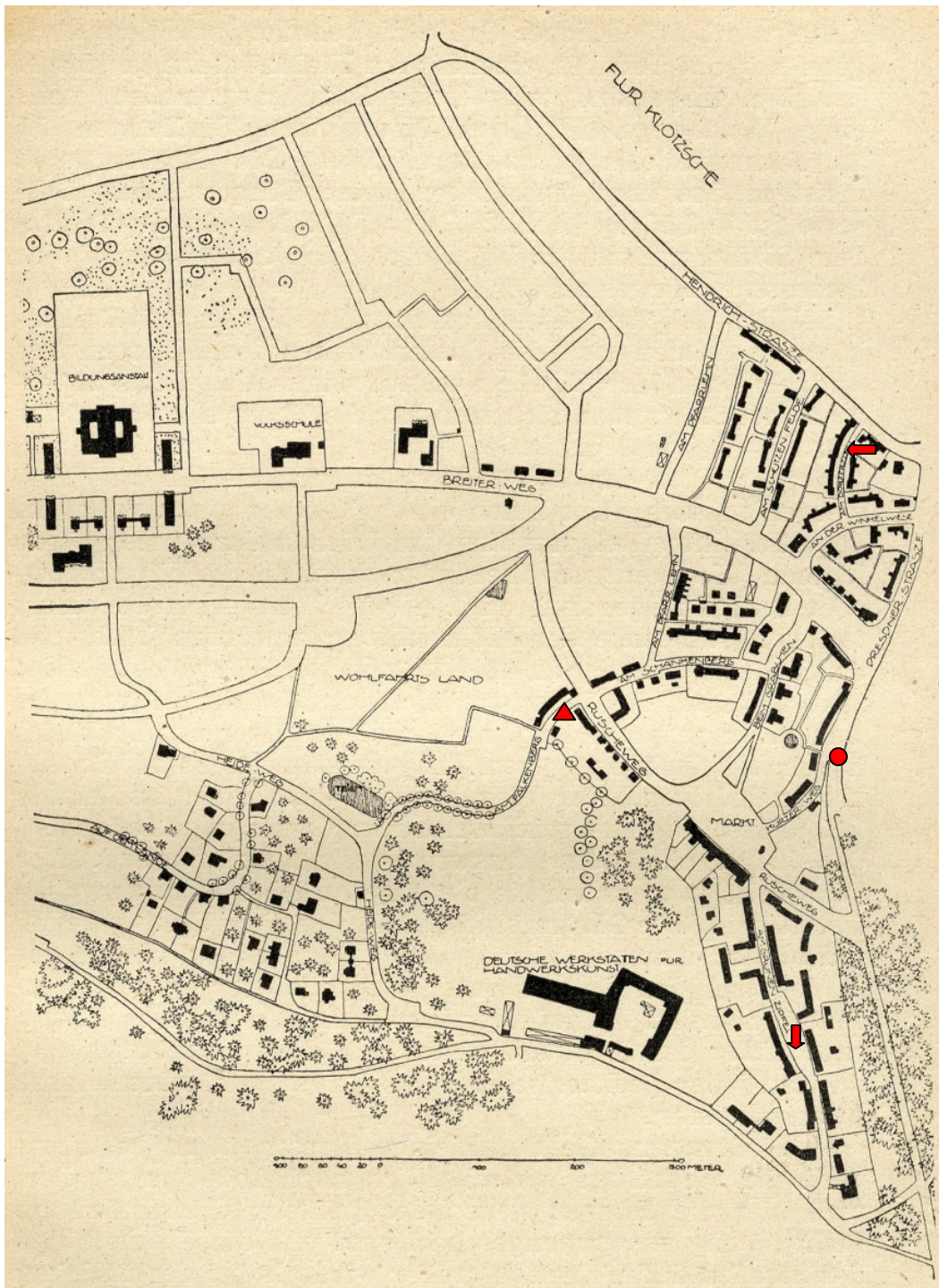


Figure 23. Richard Riemerschmid, plan for Gartenstadt Hellerau, ca. 1910. The Kleinhausviertel is located on the right hand side of the plan while larger single and double-houses are found to the left. The factory buildings of the Deutsche Werkstätten are located in a declivity separating the two residential areas, and Heinrich Tessenow's *Festspielhaus* can be found at the top left.



Figure 24. Richard Riemerschmid, row houses along am Talkenberg, Gartenstadt Hellerau, ca. 1908. The facades follow the curve of the street, which in turn responds to the contours of the land. This area is marked with a triangle on the plan of Hellerau.



Figure 25. Richard Riemerschmid, view of houses lining Am Hellerrand, Gartenstadt Hellerau, ca. 1909. These houses are marked with a circle on the larger plan.

texture contrast with the stuccoed façades, reveal and respond to the changes in grade, even as they permitted Riemerschmid to minimize the effect of those changes in the interior of the building. In front of the market building, for example, the height of the stone plinth increases as the land descends. This technique allowed Riemerschmid to create a level stone terrace in front of the shop arcade and then connect that terrace to the street level through a short flight of steps (Figure 27).

Like Riemerschmid, Georg Metzendorf took inspiration from the site when designing the *Stadtplan* for Margaretenhöhe, the settlement built under the auspices of the Margarethe Krupp-Stiftung für Wohnungs-Fürsorge (Margarethe Krupp Foundation for Housing Provision) in 1909. An early drawing that combines the street plan for the entire settlement with a topographical map of the site reveals how closely the two are related (Figure 28). The curved streets at the edges of the plan follow the contours of the land almost exactly. Metzendorf and Riemerschmid chose to use curved streets for both aesthetic and economic reasons. Even the garden cities of Hellerau and Margaretenhöhe, which enjoyed the patronage of wealthy industrialists, did not have the funds to undertake the massive earthwork enterprise required to create level sites. Equally important, picturesque planning was in vogue at the time. Many contemporary architects and planners, as well as historians who have studied the architecture of the period, attributed the mania for curved streets to the influence of Sitte's book. However, as George and Christiane Collins have pointed out, the emphasis on the medieval and the picturesque came from a chapter that had been added to the French edition of the book by the translator, Camille Martin. Martin drew on debates concerning straight versus crooked streets that dominated city planning circles in the late nineteenth century.<sup>23</sup> The debate began in the late 1870s with comments by Reinhard

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<sup>23</sup> Collins and Collins, *Camillo Sitte and the Birth of Modern City Planning*, 64-71.



Figure 26. Richard Riemerschmid, row houses along Am Grünen Zipfel, Gartenstadt Hellerau, ca. 1909. Riemerschmid used the change in elevation as aesthetic inspiration, allowing the roofline of the houses to step down the incline of the street. A downward pointing arrow marks this street on Figure 23.



Figure 27. Richard Riemerschmid, Marktplatz, Gartenstadt Hellerau, ca. 1910. By establishing a stone plinth at the base of the building, Riemerschmid was able to create a flat terrace in front of the shop arcade.

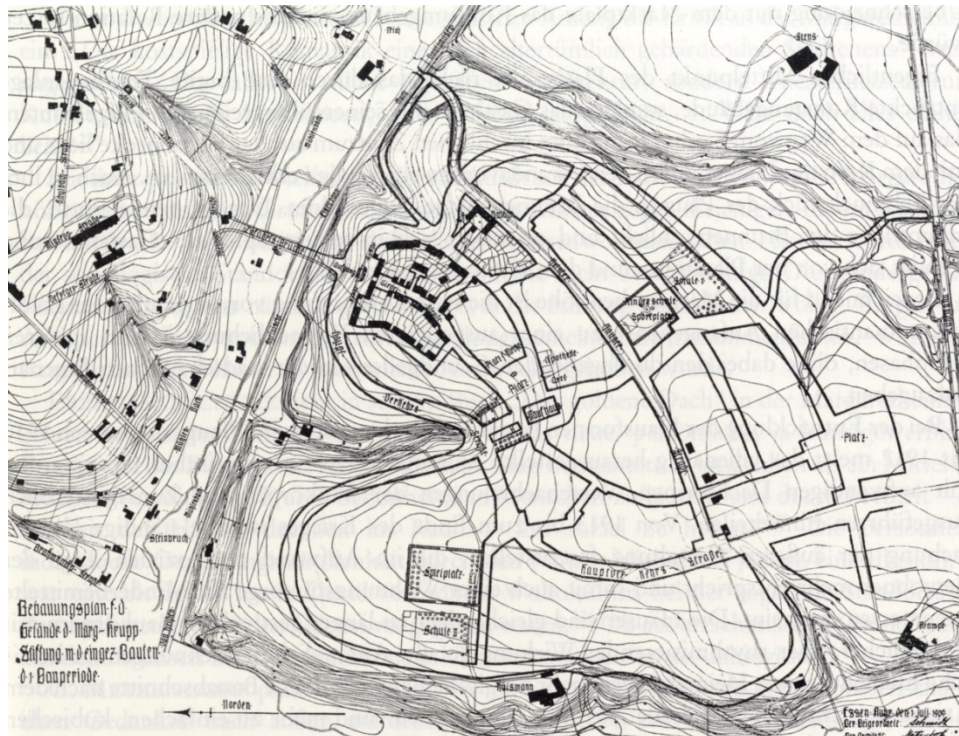


Figure 28. Georg Metzendorf's plan for Margarethenhöhe (ca. 1909) overlaid upon a topographical map of the site shows the close relationship between the layout of the streets and the contours of the land.

Baumeister and Josef Stübben on the charm of curved streets, although Stübben argued that straight streets were more appropriate where traffic was a primary consideration. It resumed in the 1890s when Karl Henrici, a follower of Sitte, attacked Stübben for overemphasizing straight streets and traffic considerations in a review of Stübben's *Handbuch der Architektur* (Handbook of Architecture). The two men argued their positions publicly in the pages of the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* (German Building Newspaper). By the time Riemerschmid and Metzendorf had designed their respective garden cities, the architectural community had come to support the improperly named "Sittesque point of view."<sup>24</sup> In 1906, for example, the Berlin Architects and

<sup>24</sup> Karl Henrici's 1890 plan for the expansion of Dessau (Figure 29) and Friedrich Puetzer's contemporaneous plan for a villa suburb at Darmstadt provide excellent examples of this type of planning, as does Theodor Fischer's 1893 plan for an extension to Munich. For an in depth discussion of trends in late nineteenth-century urban planning see



Engineer's Association recommended that streets should have interrupted views and adapt themselves to the particularities of the site.<sup>25</sup> They also recommended curved streets, taking up Sitte's emphasis on the concave façade as the arrangement best suited to the mechanics of the human eye because it allowed for the perception of the maximum number of objects at a single glance.<sup>26</sup>

Martin's interference, along with the practices of some of Sitte's followers such as Karl Henrici and Cornelius Gurlitt, obscured Sitte's much more pragmatic message. Sitte stated numerous times in his book that practical requirements should trump aesthetics when necessary, a message that the equally pragmatic leaders of the garden city embraced wholeheartedly. In the very first chapter of his book, for example, Sitte emphasized a sensible middle ground.

In this investigation it is not our intention to recommend that every picturesque beauty of old town plans be used for modern purposes, because especially in this area the saying applies: 'necessity breaks iron' [*Not bricht Eisen*]. That which is essential for hygienic or other compelling reasons has to be carried out, even at the cost of any number of pictorial motifs. But this in turn must not prevent us from studying carefully all features of the planning of old cities—even the merely picturesque—and establishing parallels to modern conditions.<sup>27</sup>

Sitte enjoyed the pictorial effects of concave streets but did not disapprove of straight lines and long vistas. In fact, he argued that Baroque architects achieved "powerful and truly artistic effects" using straight lines and right angles.<sup>28</sup> And while he certainly praised the effect of irregularities in plan, he maintained that in the artistic plans of earlier eras, these irregularities

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George and Christiane Collins's *Camillo Sitte and The Birth of Modern City Planning*. The Henrici, Puetzer and Fischer plans are illustrated there.

<sup>25</sup> Collins and Collins, *Camillo Sitte and the Birth of Modern City Planning*, 345 (footnote 36).

<sup>26</sup> Sitte, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, 271. These concave facades show up repeatedly in the garden cities. See Figures 18, 19 and 32 for some examples.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, 154.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, 224.

generally resulted from a practical basis, from some necessity that arose during the gradual development of a city over time. One could not imitate the irregularities of old townscapes for purely visual effect “without falling prey to barren fantasies.”<sup>29</sup>

In other words, Sitte effectively agreed with many of the later critics of picturesque design who felt that planners created arbitrary effects out of a misplaced nostalgia for an idealized past. In the decades after the publication of Sitte’s book, however, his sensible message got lost. Even Raymond Unwin, whose own planning treatise drew heavily upon Sitte’s example, accused German planners of overemphasizing the picturesque. He declared that:

...we may also learn from the German school both a greater respect for the opportunities afforded by the undulations and other characteristics of the site and a greater appreciation of the possibility which town planning affords for the creation of beautiful architectural groups of buildings.... On the other hand, in studying German work for the sake of the careful adjustment of the plan to the site, we shall be wise to remember the natural and proper part that formality and symmetry play in architectural grouping, and, by the careful study of Classic and Renaissance planning, learn to appreciate the importance of maintaining simple, orderly, broad lines of design, characteristics which we find lacking in many German plans, where the designer seems sometimes to neglect the broader elements of his art in undue concentration on a somewhat forced picturesque treatment of the minor details.<sup>30</sup>

Some of Sitte’s followers were certainly guilty of this. Karl Henrici’s plan for the expansion of Dessau (Figure 29) contained numerous examples of the planned irregularities that Sitte himself disdained. Some of the garden city planners were perceived to be guilty of this as well. For instance, the row houses along Am Langen Weg in Gartenstadt Staaken (ca. 1914) follow the line of the street and close off the view from the main traffic artery (Figure 31). Paul Schmitthenner’s decision to include a bend in the road resulted from purely aesthetic factors as the terrain in this area outside Berlin is flat. As Sitte recommended, the vista remains closed but

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 186, 249.

<sup>30</sup> Unwin, *Town Planning in Practice*, xvii-xviii.

changes slightly as the visitor moves along the subtle curve of the street. It is interesting to note, however, that the curve seems more pronounced to the visitor walking through the garden city than it appears in plan (Figures 31-32). In part because no topographical justification existed for the picturesque planning of Staaken and in part because by 1914 modernism was beginning to enter the architectural and planning conversation in Germany, Schmitthenner's plan seems much more conservative and nostalgic than Riemerschmid's plan for Hellerau of just a few years earlier.

Even Riemerschmid created a plan that could be attacked by later critics as unjustifiably picturesque, however. Riemerschmid's plan for Gartenstadt Nürnberg, designed in 1909, incorporated the same kinds of curved streets as Hellerau but lacked the topographical justification for those curves (Figure 30). In fact, Riemerschmid did draw upon local conditions, as the street pattern of the garden city followed the shape of the plot, whose boundaries were determined by a canal running along the southern edge and main traffic arteries to the north and east. Three main streets ran lengthwise in the plan and funneled into a central plaza. These long streets were intersected by transverse streets, which connected to the main traffic artery at the north of the plan. Many of the irregularities in the plan such as the gentle curves in the streets and the slight disjuncture of the streets on either side of the main plaza, both of which prevent long perspectival views across the site, can be accounted for by Riemerschmid's desire to create a sense of enclosure. Despite these picturesque irregularities, his street network produced building blocks of relatively consistent size.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Axel Schollmeier, *Gartenstädte in Deutschland: ihre Geschichte, Städtebauliche Entwicklung und Architektur zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts*, *Kunstgeschichte: Form und Interesse*, vol. 28 (Münster: Lit, 1990), 150-151.

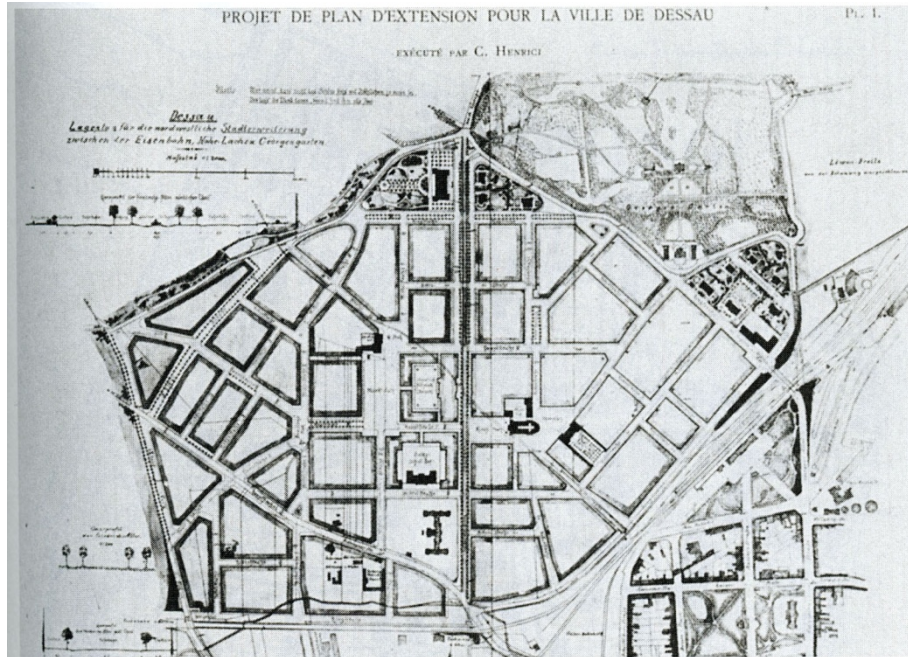


Figure 29. Karl Henrici, projected plan of extension for the city of Dessau, 1890. George and Christiane Collins assert that Henrici, a follower of Sitte, used picturesque planning principles arbitrarily, helping to distort Sitte's legacy.

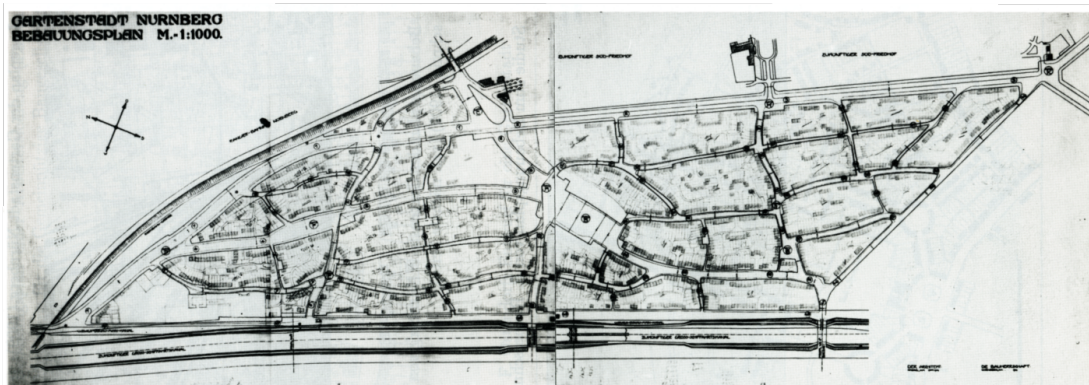


Figure 30. Richard Riemerschmid, plan of Gartenstadt Nürnberg, 1909. The general direction of the streets was determined by the boundaries of the plan. Curved streets in the interior prevented long perspectival views across the site.



Figure 31. Paul Schmitthenner, row houses on Am Langen Weg, Gartenstadt Staaken, ca. 1919. The curve in the road is dictated by purely aesthetic factors, rather than any change in topography.

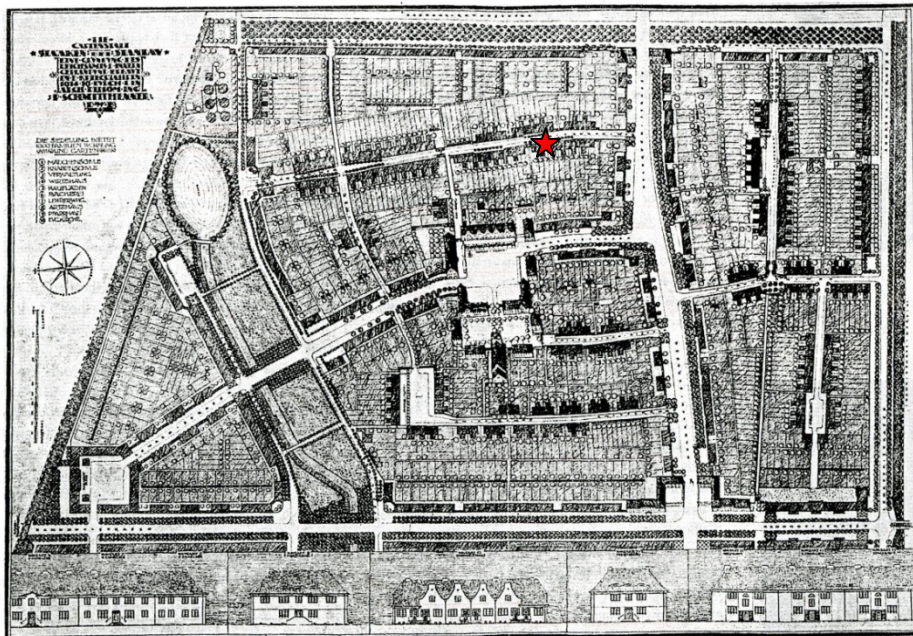


Figure 32. Paul Schmitthenner, plan of Gartenstadt Staaken, ca. 1918. The star marks the portion of Am Langen Weg shown in Figure 31.

A simple formulation of the aesthetic position of the garden city movement is complicated by the fact that not all designers of garden cities created picturesque plans. In fact, a significant shift in planning took place within the first two decades of the twentieth century. Even as Hellerau became one of the most celebrated examples of picturesque planning, the architectural community developed a renewed interest in a more rational, axial style of planning. In the quote from Unwin above, the author urged planners “to remember the natural and proper part that formality and symmetry play in architectural grouping, and, by the careful study of Classic and Renaissance planning, learn to appreciate the importance of maintaining simple, orderly, broad lines of design.”<sup>32</sup> In Germany, Paul Schultze-Naumburg’s *Kulturarbeiten* (Cultural Works), first published in 1902, and Paul Mebes’s book *Um 1800: Architektur und Handwerk im letzten Jahrhundert ihrer traditionellen Entwicklung* (Around 1800: Architecture and Handicraft in the Last Century of its Traditional Development), published in 1908, formed the basis of a movement that looked back to a restrained, Germanic classicism as an inspiration for future building. In terms of urban planning, Schultze-Naumburg largely celebrated the beauty and charm of medieval cities that had developed gradually over time, but, like Sitte before him, he also recognized the merit of axial planning and believed that both the picturesque and the axial could be used to great effect. He stated, somewhat contemptuously, that those who came to the conclusion that “a well laid out street must be curved and that every straight street must come across as boring” had embraced a fallacy. The axial approach to planning in which a street terminated in an important goal or monument remained just as valid as the medieval or picturesque.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Unwin, *Town Planning in Practice*, xvii-xviii.

<sup>33</sup> Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Kulturarbeiten*, Volume IV: *Staedtebau*, 2nd ed. (München: Georg D.W. Callwey, 1909), 55.

More pointedly than Sitte, who looked to the entirety of planning history for principles that could be applied to contemporary situations, Schultze-Naumburg instructed planners to take local traditions into account when designing cities or buildings. Of all the garden city architects, the planners of Gartenstadt Mannheim and Gartenstadt Karlsruhe did this most obviously, as each of these garden suburbs responded to the strongly geometric plan of the original city.<sup>34</sup> The visitor cannot help but recall the circular grid of the fortified city of Mannheim when viewing the elliptical plan designed by the local architectural firm Esch & Anke for Gartenstadt Mannheim (Figures 33-34). Nor can one help but recall the radiating streets of the city of Karlsruhe when standing in the central square of Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, first designed by Hans Kampffmeyer, and gazing upon the residential streets that extend outward at regular intervals (Figures 35-36). In each instance, however, the garden city planners substituted communal spaces for the Baroque palaces that formed the nucleus of the earlier plans, making plain the democratic social structure that presided in the garden cities. In Gartenstadt Mannheim, the center of the plan contains residential buildings and gardens, while in Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, the streets of the garden city radiate outward from the communal space of the plaza, which is surrounded by stores and the administrative offices of the garden city. In fact, the communal buildings of Ostendorfplatz are a mirror image of the baroque palace at the center of Karlsruhe, framing the plaza and opening towards the main traffic artery of Herrenalber Straße at the edge of the garden city, where the streetcar tracks now run.<sup>35</sup> Of course, even in these instances, the designs were not purely a

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<sup>34</sup> Axel Schollmeier comes to a similar conclusion on page 186 of his book. He argues that the planning of the garden cities of Mannheim and Nürnberg, in particular, evince strong connections with the planning traditions in their respective host cities.

<sup>35</sup> The effect of this plaza would have been even more striking if the surrounding area been completed as the organization intended. In the original plans, access to Ostendorfplatz would have been possible from a single street that originated at the nearby Nikolaus-Kirche. The church was located on a slight hill that would have allowed pedestrians to view the geometry of the plan as they descended into Ostendorfplatz [Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, *Festschrift zum 75-jährigen Bestehen der Gartenstadt Karlsruhe eG.* (Karlsruhe: G. Braun, 1982), 27].

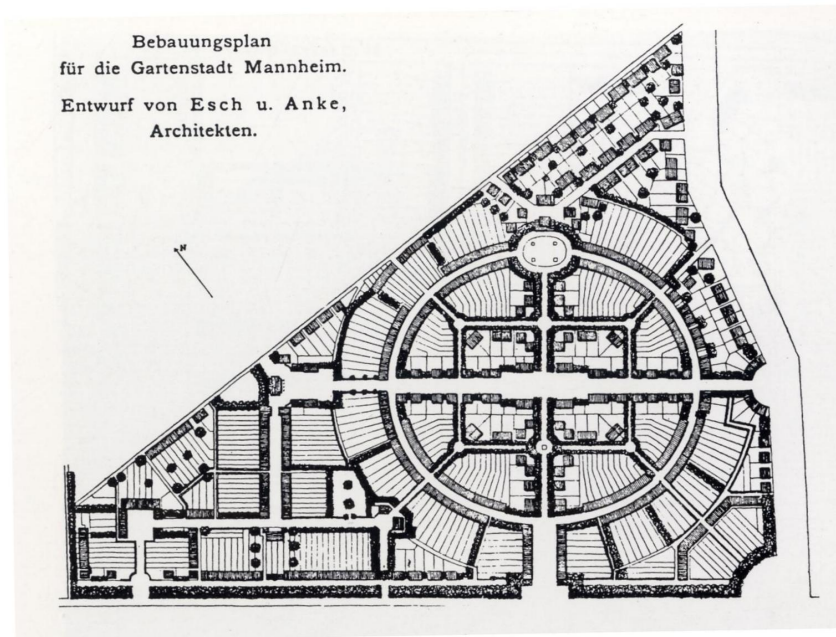
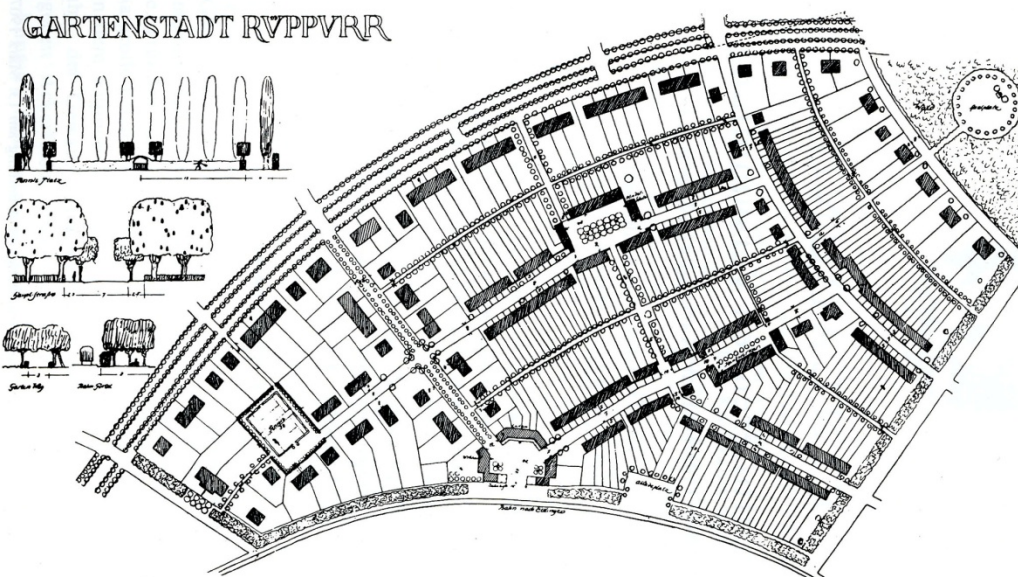


Figure 33. Esch & Anke, first design for Gartenstadt Mannheim, ca. 1911.



Figure 34. Plan of the city of Mannheim showing the circular grid of streets in the formerly fortified city. The Baroque palace is the u-shaped building at the bottom of the grid, near the Rhine.





Der nach einem Entwurf von Dr. Hans Kampffmeyer von dem Durlacher Architekten Dipl.-Ing. Kohler ausgearbeitete erste Bebauungsplan der Gartenstadt Karlsruhe.

Figure 35. Hans Kampffmeyer, plan of Gartenstadt Karlsruhe. Kampffmeyer designed the plan and Kohler, an architect from Durlach worked out the details, producing this drawing in May of 1910.

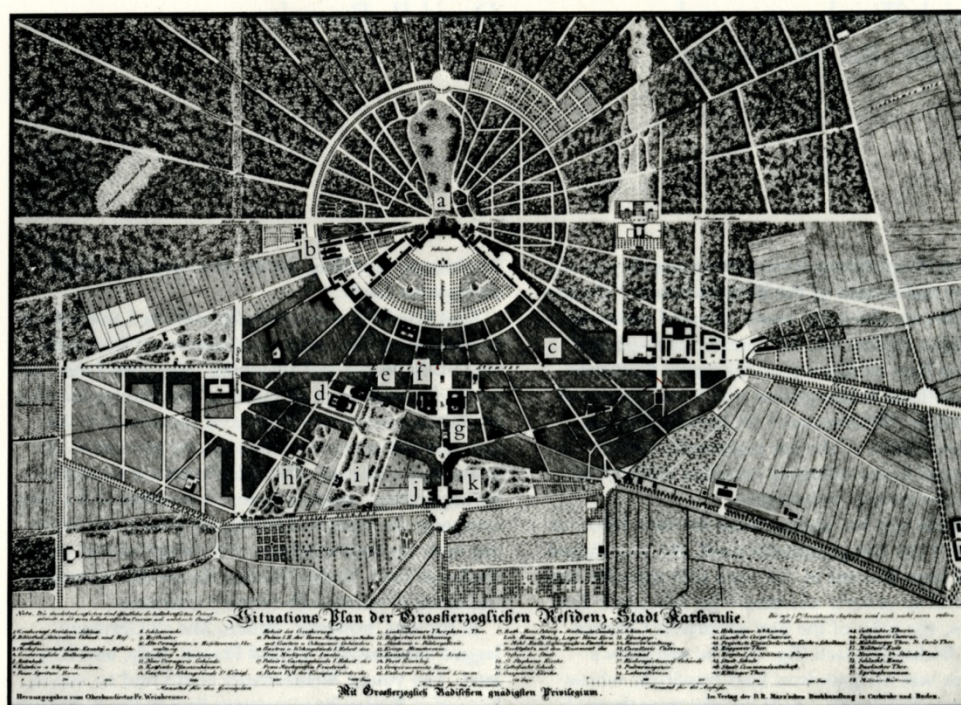


Figure 36. Plan of Karlsruhe. Designed ca. 1715 for Karl Wilhelm, the Margrave of Baden-Durlach. Notice the circular center of the plan with the streets radiating outward from the palace.

response to local planning traditions. The rest of the plan for Gartenstadt Karlsruhe abandons the geometric purity of the Baroque city, in part due to the awkward shape of the site. Instead, the inner streets follow the outer boundaries of the site.<sup>36</sup>

At Gartenstadt Mannheim, the architects justified their geometric design in terms of traffic considerations and land parcels. A letter to the board of the garden city reveals the rationale behind Esch & Anke's elliptical design. The architects spoke about giving the plan a "characteristic shape" (*charakterische Gestaltung*), which in this case was determined by the triangular shape of the parcel with which they were given to work. They described the four quarters of the ellipse as curved diagonal streets, which, together with the perpendicular streets that met at the center of the plan, created an excellent traffic network, even as they eliminated the awkward building parcels that would have resulted at the points of the diamond if a rectilinear shape had been used to the same effect (Figure 37).<sup>37</sup> Esch & Anke then defended their design decision in language that drew strongly upon Sitte. The elliptical shape of the West Ring created a "constant change of view and the illumination, the particular feeling, one has in a street whose goal does not stand directly before one's eyes" (Figure 38).<sup>38</sup>

At about the same time, the designers of Gartenstadt Leipzig-Marienbrunn created another strongly geometric design for a garden city (Figure 39). While the proposal for the garden suburb in no way related to the design of the original medieval city of Leipzig, the presence of an existing street (An der Tabaksmühle) at the northern boundary of the designated land parcel and of a cemetery to the east, along with some proposed developments to the south,

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<sup>36</sup> Schollmeier, 116.

<sup>37</sup> Esch & Anke to the Vorstand der Gartenvorstadt-Genossenschaft Mannheim, September 4, 1911 [XXII. Polizei, 5. Bauwesen, 1962 Nr. 462, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Mannheim]

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. "Ihr ästhetischer Wert liegt in dem überaus schönen Anblick sich im Rund aneinandersetzender Häuser, dem beständigen Wechsel der Bilder und der Beleuchtung, dem eigentümlichen Gefühl, in einer Strasse sich zu befinden, deren Ziel nicht unmittelbar vor Augen stehen...."

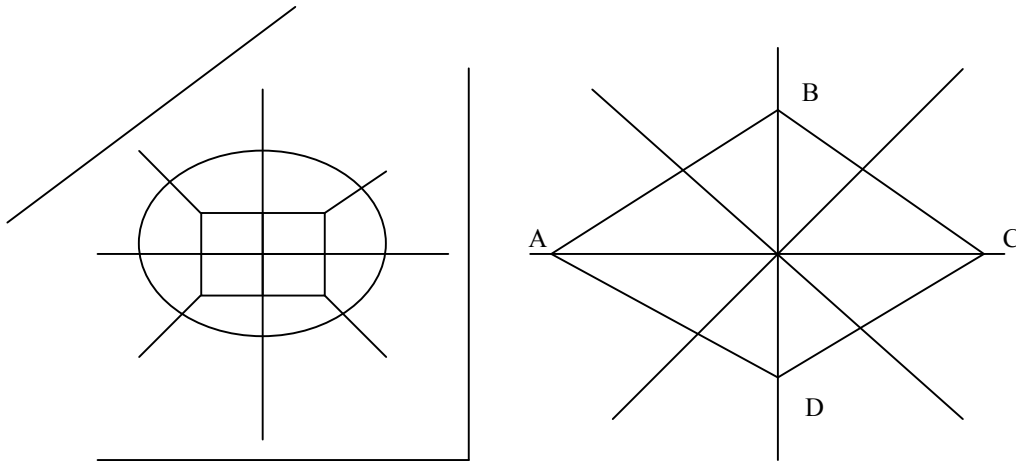


Figure 37. Reproductions of line drawings included by Esch & Anke in their 1911 letter to the garden city administration in order to explain their decision to use an ellipse in the design of the street network of Gartenstadt Mannheim.



Figure 38. Esch & Anke, row houses on Westring, Gartenstadt Mannheim, ca. 1910. This view illustrates the closed vista mentioned by Esch & Anke in their letter to the garden city administration.



Figure 39. Plan of Gartenstadt Leipzig-Marienbrunn, ca. 1913. The garden city was built as a practical exhibition of housing constructed for the Internationale Bauausstellung (International Building Exhibition).

dictated the layout of the plan. The wedge shape and axial interior streets provided the most efficient use of space within the existing constraints.<sup>39</sup> Again the inner streets mirror the exterior boundaries of the site with the transverse streets running from north to south curving gently and the east-west arteries carving a smaller wedge out of the larger site. This geometric design, like that of Mannheim, also provided a perfect illustration of Hans Bernoulli's assertion that garden suburbs required a "consciously, unified and clear expression in their layout," precisely because they were not independent entities.<sup>40</sup> Even more than full-fledged garden cities, their planning

<sup>39</sup> *90 Jahre Marienbrunn 1913-2003* (Marienbrunn: Verein der Freunde von Marienbrunn e.V., 2003), 16-17.

<sup>40</sup> Hans Bernoulli, "Die neue Stadt," 110. "Eine Gartenvorstadt, gerade weil sie mitten zwischen Vororte ohne inneren Zusammenhang gestellt ist, braucht noch dringender als eine unabhängige Gründung einen bewußt einheitlich-klaren Ausdruck in Anlage und Aufbau. Der gestaltende Architekt und nicht zuletzt die auftraggebende

needed to express their distinct social and architectural identity in relation to the larger city and to any nearby suburbs.<sup>41</sup> The strong geometry of Gartenstadt Mannheim and Leipzig-Marienbrunn helped to distinguish them as distinct entities, but few other garden suburbs managed to achieve the clear geometric layout of these two settlements.

The architectural community responded enthusiastically to these geometric plans, especially that for Gartenstadt Mannheim. Dr. Otto Moericke, a board member of the garden city, compiled a number of glowing expert opinions and sent them to the Grossherzogliche Bezirksamt (Grand Ducal district office), the body that approved building plans for Mannheim. The art historian A. E. Brinckmann applauded the move away from a “picturesque arrangement” (*malerischen Gefüges*) towards “an architectonic composition” (*architektonische Komposition*). He argued that the irregular plan at Hellerau did not adequately serve the needs of the garden city and that, while geometric plans had previously been considered as Italianate or French, recent authors had rediscovered the regular plans of the German cities of Mannheim and Karlsruhe.<sup>42</sup> Brinckmann also referred to the plan as an “organic creation” (*organische Schöpfung*) in the sense desired by the DGG: in other words, Esch & Anke had achieved a coherent, unified vision for their garden city. In addition, the renowned Sittesque urban planners Cornelius Gurlitt and Theodor Goecke praised Esch & Anke’s plan for avoiding the “usual schematism” (*üblichen Schematismus*) of modern urban plans. These men clearly distinguished between Esch & Anke’s

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Genossenschaft selbst hat noch eindringlicher darauf hinzuarbeiten, daß die Organisation, das Gemeindewesen, einen unzweideutigen, sinnfälligen Ausdruck finde. Nicht »nette Häuschen«, sondern »neue Stadt«.”

<sup>41</sup> The categorization of the various kinds of garden city is complicated by the fact that many are referred to by different names even in the literature of the time. Gartenstadt (garden city) Mannheim, for example, is often referred to as Gartenvorstadt (garden suburb) Mannheim. In truth, as mentioned in the last chapter, most of the garden cities were actually garden suburbs. For simplicity’s sake, I use the term Gartenstadt throughout this chapter.

<sup>42</sup> “Gutachten,” enclosure accompanying a letter from Dr. Otto Moericke to the Grossherzogliche Bezirksamt, 28 February, 1912 [XXII. Polizei, 5. Bauwesen, 1962 Nr. 462, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Mannheim]. He does not say which recent authors of city planning tracts had rediscovered Mannheim and Karlsruhe. Perhaps he is referring to publications such as Paul Mebes’s *Um 1800*, as he mentions that recent publications paid special attention to the creations of the eighteenth century.

thoroughly considered geometric design and the earlier grid plans blindly implemented by modern planners and so abhorred by Sitte.

Even Hermann Muthesius praised the “the good axial configuration” of the plan (*die gute axiale Anordnung des Ganzen*).<sup>43</sup> At Mannheim, each of the main axes began at the boundaries of the site and terminated in an ornamental plaza. Today the horizontal axis enters obliquely, at the side of the public buildings along the left edge of the plan, whereas the original plan revealed a straight street, with an uninterrupted vista closed by a colonnaded building (Figure 33). The designers of Gartenstadt Leipzig-Marienbrunn used axial planning to similar effect (Figure 39). A short central axis starts at the main traffic artery at the narrow end of the plan. The view is closed by a u-shaped apartment building, forcing the visitor to walk around to either side. Visitors then approach Arminiushof, the ornamental park located on that central axis at the heart of the plan, from the corners; the enclosed vista of the street opens into the park. One of the two major cross-axes of the plan also runs directly from the boundaries of the garden city along the edge of this park.

Although few garden city architects employed the precise geometric forms of the elliptical Gartenstadt Mannheim or the wedge-shaped Gartenstadt Leipzig-Marienbrunn, many used areas of axial planning to create visual centers for their plans and placed community buildings like the *Gesellschaftshaus*, stores, or the school at the terminus of the main axis. The original plan for Gartenstadt Stockfeld, built by the city of Strasbourg to house those displaced by an urban renewal project in the old city, consisted of a number of large rectangular blocks with houses surrounding interior gardens (Figure 40). A ceremonial axis, terminating at one end in the *Forsthaus* (forester’s house) and at the other in the administration building, formed the center of the plan. This long, fairly narrow street widened into an ornamental plaza in front of

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

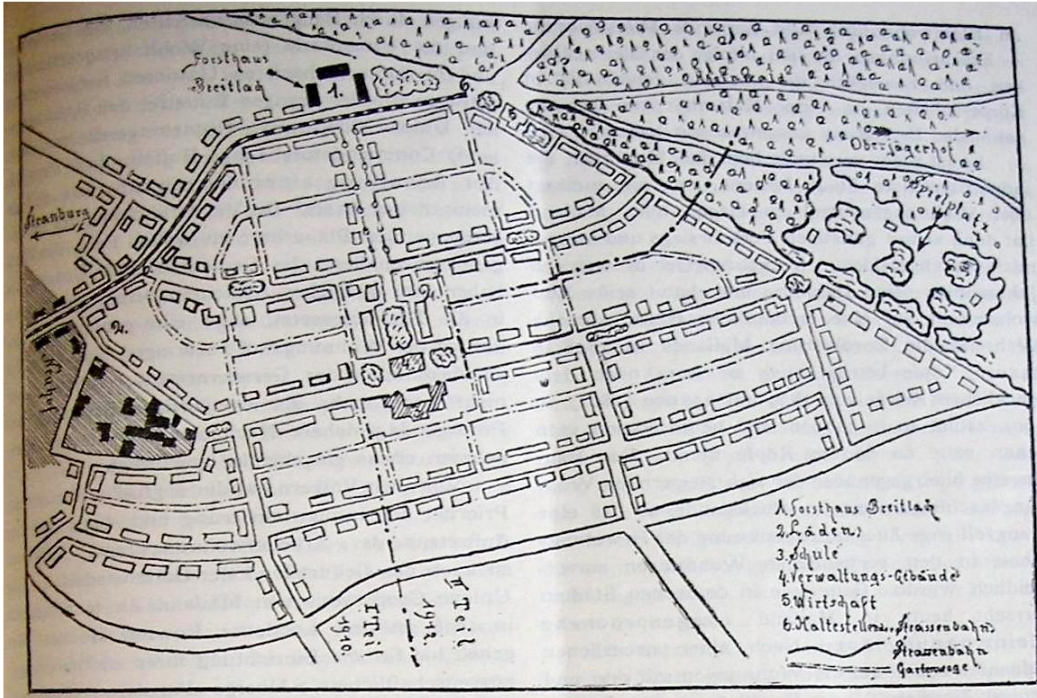


Figure 40. Original plan of Gartenstadt Stockfeld, Strasbourg, ca. 1910-1912.

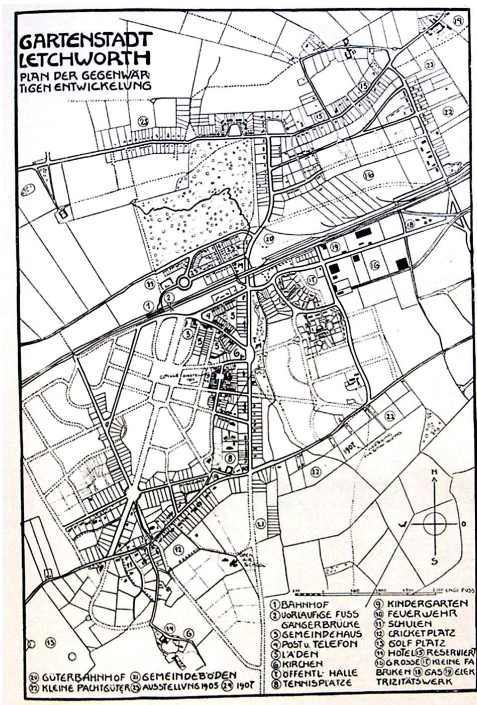


Figure 41. Parker & Unwin, plan of Letchworth. This version shows developments up to approximately 1907.

the administration building for the garden city. The u-shaped school embraced the administration building, whose proportions exactly matched the width of the school's courtyard, further accentuating the terminus of the axis. This configuration also formed a grouping of three small plazas opening off one of the major horizontal axes of the plan. The interconnected grouping of plazas around public buildings was something that Sitte recommended, although he would have been less pleased with the openness of the plazas created by the massive cross-street running along their edge.<sup>44</sup>

Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform outside Magdeburg and Gartenstadt Falkenberg near Berlin also include long ceremonial axes (Figures 42-44). In both instances, Hans Bernoulli designed the original plans of the garden cities (at Gartenstadt Kolonie-Reform he collaborated with Hans Kampffmeyer), although it would be Bruno Taut who, after modifying the plans, oversaw construction of the projects. According to Kristiana Hartmann, Hans Bernoulli greatly admired Parker & Unwin's axial plan for Letchworth (Figure 41), which he had seen in person in 1911 on one of the DGG's study tours of England.<sup>45</sup> Bernoulli used the grand allée to great effect at Magdeburg, envisioning a long, straight street of multiple-family dwellings bordered by a double-row of trees and culminating in the administrative building for the settlement (Figure 43). Taut changed very little about this aspect of the plan. Like the architects of Gartenstadt Mannheim and Karlsruhe, Bernoulli and Taut adopted the language of Baroque or Renaissance

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<sup>44</sup> Stockfeld as built retains very little of this axial design. Two long, straight streets lined with houses terminate in a school building, but the axial effect is lost in the profusion of houses. A *Wohnhof* or cul-de-sac is located behind the school. At the opposite end of the plan, a welter of curved streets produce picturesque effects, especially as the houses at the ends of streets are angled or staggered so that a densely layered jumble of rooftops presents itself to the viewer and closes off the view. This creates the illusion of much greater density than actually exists on the site and mimics the streetscapes thought to have existed in medieval towns.

<sup>45</sup> Kristiana Hartmann, "Hans Bernoulli und die Gartenstadt," *Archithese* 11, no. 6 (1981): 23 and Karl Nägelin, "Hans Bernoulli 1876-1959," *Archithese* 11, no. 6 (1981): 7.



planning but replaced the symbols of power and wealth at the end of the long axes with those of communal administration and shared responsibility.

The central avenue at Gartenstadt Falkenberg, though never built, was intended to be even grander than that at Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform (Figure 44). Again, Bruno Taut carried this element over from Bernoulli's initial plan for the garden city. According to descriptions of the design in *Gartenstadt*, Taut intended this street to be the main communal and commercial artery in the garden city, stretching nearly the entire length of the plan. The street was to be lined with shops, and, despite its extraordinary width (35-40 meters), traffic would be restricted by four to six rows of trees planted along its length. This grand allée connected other points of communal importance; it ran between the school with its nearby teachers' residential building and the public park, which offered a view out over the wooded terrain of this suburb to the Müggelberge, the highest hills in the area around Berlin.<sup>46</sup>

All of these grand axial compositions fulfilled a civic role, providing a visual focus for the public life of the settlement in contradistinction to the more humble residential streets of double or row houses usually built with great economy.<sup>47</sup> Intentionally or not, these architects fulfilled a prescription put forth by both Camillo Sitte and Karl Ernst Osthaus, both of whom distinguished between the public and residential areas of a city. In his pragmatic manner, Sitte recognized that modern cities possessed too much complexity for every inch to be artistic. He stated:

After all, the artist needs for his purpose only a few main streets and plazas; all the rest he is glad to turn over to traffic and to daily material needs. The broad mass of living quarters should be businesslike, and there the city may appear in its work clothes. However, major plazas and thoroughfares should wear their

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<sup>46</sup> "Die Gartenvorstadt Falkenberg bei Berlin," *Gartenstadt* 7, no. 5 (May 1913): 81-82.

<sup>47</sup> One exception is the tree-lined allée, which originally formed the easternmost boundary of Gartenstadt Karlsruhe but did not provide a visual focal point for the design.

“Sunday best” in order to be a pride and joy to the inhabitants, to awaken civic spirit, and forever to nurture great and noble sentiment within our growing youth. This is exactly the way it is in the old towns.<sup>48</sup>

Karl Ernst Osthaus expressed similar ideas in an article in *Gartenstadt* entitled “Typ oder Individualität in Architektur” (Type or Individuality in Architecture), which consisted of reprints of articles from the 1912 yearbook of the Deutsche Werkbund devoted to the same subject. Following an excerpt from Muthesius’s “Wo stehen wir?” (Where do we stand?), Osthaus described a visit to Rennes, which he felt presented an arresting unity despite the fact that he could not distinguish one house from the next.<sup>49</sup> The secret, according to Osthaus, lay in the fact that each piece played a role within the larger whole. The unvarying sameness of the houses, therefore, set off the public buildings to great effect. The architects further emphasized the public buildings by making them “focal points in a network of axial streets.”<sup>50</sup> A year earlier, Osthaus had expressed similarly radical views, seeming to urge a return to the grid plan against which Sitte had advocated so tirelessly. In an essay entitled “Gartenstadt and Städtebau” (“Garden City and City Planning”), Osthaus claimed that the city plan should consist of a

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<sup>48</sup> Sitte, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, 230.

<sup>49</sup> Rennes was a famous example of eighteenth-century urban planning. After a fire in November of 1720 destroyed a sizable portion of the existing city, the city commissioned the military engineer Robelin to develop a new city plan. He replaced the old, twisting streets with a grid system in which straight streets lined with uniform buildings terminated in grand vistas. Two large squares with public buildings provided focal points for the plan. The plan was executed by Jacques V Gabriel, who had worked for a time in the office of J. H. Mansart. He rebuilt the city north of the Vilaine, utilizing “prescribed and only slightly varied house types” [Wend von Kalnein, *Architecture in France in the Eighteenth Century*, trans. David Britt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 77].

<sup>50</sup> “Typ oder Individualität in der Architektur,” *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 9 (September 1912): 164. “Ich möchte besonders Rennes nennen..... Es gibt dort eigentlich nur Typen. Es ist fast unmöglich, ein Haus vom andern zu unterscheiden, und trotzdem gibt diese Stadt ein so eindrucksvolles Bild wie vielleicht wenige Städte der Welt. Man gewinnt aus dem Stadtbild den Eindruck des stärksten künstlerischen Lebens trotz der nahezu vollständigen Gleichheit aller Privathäuser. Das Geheimnis dieser Wirkung liegt einerseits in der Nebenordnung alles wesentlich Gleichen, andererseits in der augenfälligen Überordnung alles davon Unterschiedenen, also der öffentlichen Gebäude, die als Knotenpunkte eines Systems axialer Straßen das Stadtganze beherrschen. Ihre Erscheinung könnte niemals so eindrucksvoll sein, wenn sie nicht durch die Gleichförmigkeit der Umgebung unterstützt und gehoben würde. So braucht also der Typ keineswegs ein Hinderungsgrund für künstlerische Gestaltung zu sein, im Gegenteil, er kann zum wertvollen Motive künstlerischer Wirkungen werden.”

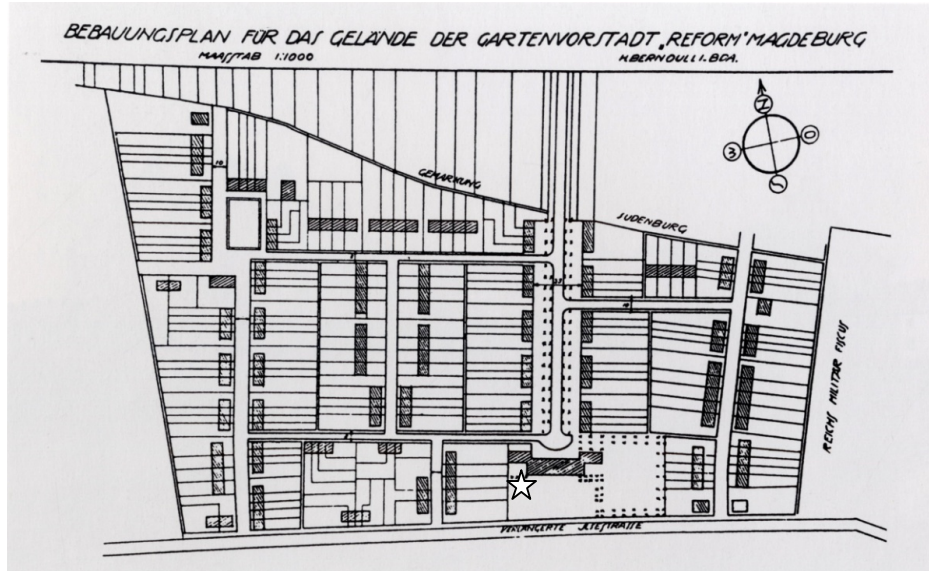


Figure 42. Hans Kampffmeyer and Hans Bernoulli, initial plan for Gartenstadt Kolonie-Reform, Magdeburg, ca. 1911. The basic design was modified slightly by Bruno Taut when he took over the planning. Zur Siedlungsreform is marked by a star on the plan.



Figure 43. Bruno Taut, Zur Siedlungs-Reform, Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform, Magdeburg. The street culminates in Taut's administrative building for the garden city. Taut continues the vista through the building by placing an open doorway at its center leading to the residential Maienhof.

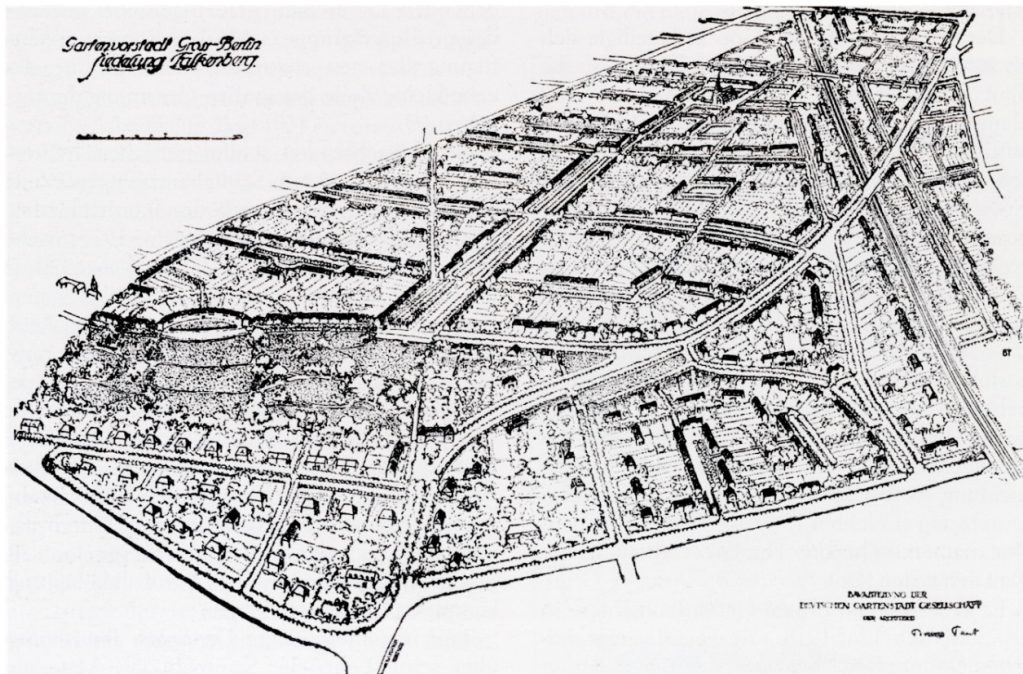


Figure 44. Bruno Taut, plan for Gartenstadt Falkenberg, Berlin. This plan is a modified version of an earlier design by Hans Bernoulli. The grand allée remains, but the contours of the side streets are more relaxed and follow the movement of the ground. Akazienhof, one of the only streets to be built, is found at the bottom right of the plan (see Figures 54 and 60).

network of perpendicular streets because the smallest unit of planning, the house, was rectangular (*rechteckig*). He betrayed a debt to Sitte even here in that he still counseled planners to avoid a schematic approach by taking into account the angle of the sun and of the prevailing winds, along with features of the existing terrain.<sup>51</sup>

Despite all of this emphasis on rectangular and axial streets around 1910, the pragmatic architects of the garden city movement did not reject the picturesque completely. They chose to

<sup>51</sup> Karl Ernst Osthaus, “Gartenstadt und Städtebau” in *Bauordnung und Bebauungsplan*, 39. “Wie wird er nun entwerfen? Sein Element ist das Haus, ein Haus ist rechteckig, ebenso wird die Vielheit der Häuser zum Rechteck drängen. Das normale Stadtbild wird demnach ein Netz von rechtwinklig sich schneidenden Straßen zeigen. Die Rücksicht auf den Verkehr fügt Diagonaldurchschneidungen hinzu. Das ist die Grundform.... Wohl aber gibt es gesetzmäßige Abweichungen von dem Schema, und zwar so zahlreiche, dass das Schema selten in seiner primitiven Starrheit zur Durchführung gelangen wird. Die Rücksicht auf Winde und Sonne mag manche Abweichung von der graden Flucht rechtfertigen.”

follow the example of Sitte, Unwin and Fischer and to allow conditions to dictate the use of straight or curved streets. For example, Taut softened the straight lines of Bernoulli's design in the side streets of Gartenstadt Falkenberg, allowing them to follow the contours of the land, but maintained the grand avenue that formed the spine of the plan. Others also incorporated both axial and picturesque elements into their plans. Schmitthenner, for example, designed a straight street, fronted with houses sporting classical columns around their entrances, to connect the arched gateways that provide access to Gartenstadt Staaken. He reserved curving, picturesque designs for the side-streets, which branched off this axial thoroughfare.

Plazas could provide visual foci for the plan and the community, just as long axial streets culminating in monumental buildings did. In fact, many of the axial streets in garden cities terminated in a combination of plaza and communal buildings. Plazas were also scattered throughout most plans to provide subordinate areas of interest within the network of residential streets. Numerous authors in the publications of the DGG discuss the importance of plazas in the city plan, drawing directly upon Sitte. Peter Behrens called plazas the "true symbol of city life" and deplored modern plazas such as Potsdamer Platz in Berlin, which did little more than funnel traffic. Instead, he advocated enclosed plazas with traffic flowing along the edges where necessary.<sup>52</sup> For Behrens and Sitte, this sense of enclosure was of the utmost importance. Numerous plazas in the garden cities, however, did not adhere to this standard. Rather than creating turbine plazas, where each street entered from a different direction to minimize the visual disruption of the space, many garden city architects simply widened portions of streets to create plazas. The plazas at Gartenstadt Stockfeld and Mannheim are created in this way, perhaps in part because they form the termination of large axes within the plan. At Hellerau and

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<sup>52</sup> Peter Behrens, "Die Gartenstadtbewegung," 27. "Eine Stadt ohne wenigstens einen Platz ist nicht zu denken. Der Platz ist das wahre Symbol städtischen Lebens."

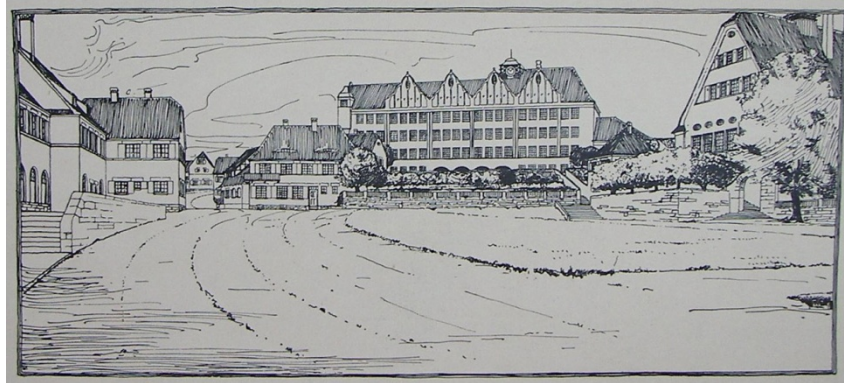


Figure 45. Richard Riemerschmid, marketplace, Gartenstadt Hellerau. This view shows the communal buildings, which were never built. From left to right: the administrative buildings, the post office, the school and the inn.

Staaken, the traffic flows along one edge of the market square, following Behrens's prescription more accurately (Figures 23 and 32). Riemerschmid's original plan for the market square in Hellerau included a tavern, post office, school, housing for single workers, a central washhouse, and eventually a town hall opposite the existing stores lining the western side of the plaza, all of which would have created a greater sense of enclosure (Figure 45).<sup>53</sup> A 1911 publication of Gartenstadt Hellerau reveals how the organizers conceived of the market square:

Here also one notes the layout of the road. It is so laid out that the streets skirt the market place, leaving the middle free from through traffic. The streets flow in easy curves into the market place and do not disturb the enclosed effect, which the market place will afford when it is completely built.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Kristiana Hartmann, *Deutsche Gartenstadtbewegung: Kulturpolitik und Gesellschaftsreform* (München: Heinz Moos Verlag, 1976), 52, 90 and 143 (footnote 312). All of these buildings represented the political and economic self-sufficiency desired for the garden city but which it never fully achieved.

<sup>54</sup> Gartenstadt Hellerau bei Dresden, G.m.b.H., *Die Gartenstadt Hellerau: Ein Bericht über den Zweck, die Organisation, die Ansiedlungs-Bedingungen, die bisherigen Erfolge und die Ziele* (Dresden: Verlag der Gartenstadt Hellerau, 1911), 64. "Auch hier beobachte man die Straßenführung. Sie ist durchweg so gelegt, dass die Straßen sozusagen um den Markplatz herumgehen, die Mitte aber vom Durchgangsverkehr freihalten. Die Straßen münden in leichten Biegungen in den Marktplatz und zerstören nicht den geschlossenen Eindruck, den der Marktplatz gewähren wird, wenn er ganz bebaut ist."

Unfortunately, the communal buildings meant to form the other sides of the plaza were never built. The housing that the garden city constructed later does not achieve the desired sense of enclosure; the space of the market square is too large and amorphous in relation to the height of the buildings to obtain that effect. Likewise, the main plaza at Karlsruhe maintains a sense of enclosure only when the visitor turns his back on the main thoroughfare that designates the limit of the garden city. Unlike the plazas at the other garden cities, the plaza at Karlsruhe is not located at the center of the plan. Rather it marks the ceremonial entrance to the community, gathering and funneling traffic into the more controlled space of the garden city (Figure 35).<sup>55</sup>

In a few instances, architects did design a square that conformed to Sitte's ideal. The market plaza at Margarethenhöhe, while not a turbine plaza, comes closer to the desired sense of enclosure (Figure 46). The square is dominated by the imposing neo-Baroque building of the *Konsumanstalt*, normally a cooperative store but here run by the Krupp firm (Figure 47).<sup>56</sup> Opposite the store is the *Gasthaus* or tavern with its colonnaded front, while residential buildings line the other sides of the plaza. Both of these grand buildings possess lateral wings, which close off the view to a certain extent, even though both Hoher Weg and Steile Straße (the streets which run parallel to the monumental buildings) continue uninterrupted through the space of the plaza. Sitte had identified the market as one of the original functions of plazas in the city.<sup>57</sup> Stores or consumer cooperatives could be found on the market square in many garden cities, but

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<sup>55</sup> The buildings lining the original design for this plaza created a greater sense of enclosure than those built, due to the small projections at their outermost edges which would have narrowed the entrance to the plaza from the main traffic artery running through the Ruppurr district.

<sup>56</sup> The difference between this company store and the more humble consumer cooperatives of member-supported garden cities is made visible in the architecture of the buildings. Compare the grand, neo-Baroque building of Margarethenhöhe (Figure 47) with the *Konsum* of Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform (Figure 13), whose architecture varies little from that of neighboring houses. Consumer cooperatives were established in many garden cities, but the accompanying producer cooperatives envisioned by Franz Oppenheimer and Gustav Landauer never materialized.

<sup>57</sup> Sitte, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, 152.

Metzendorf actually provided market stalls in the center of this plaza, explicitly connecting this space to a historical use. The architect submerged the market stalls slightly below the ground level of the rest of the plaza, further creating a sense of enclosure within this area of the square.

The main squares in Gartenstadt München-Perlach, designed by Hans Eduard von Berlepsch-Valendàs and P. A. Hansen, also reveal a debt to Sitte (Figure 48). The Munich garden city was never built, but a local advocate, Dr. Hermann Schmidt, described the planned development in an article for *Gartenstadt*. The description and the accompanying plans are decidedly Sittesque. A main thoroughfare ran the length of the garden city with multiple squares opening off this axis. Dr. Schmidt described the “closed construction” (*geschlossene Bebauung*) of the market square, which the architects decided to surround with two-story houses. This practical choice allowed them to include stores, offices and a restaurant while also permitting the architects to achieve an “artistic spatial impression” (*künstlerische Platzwirkung*).<sup>58</sup> The architects spanned the main thoroughfare with an arched gateway on one edge of the plaza. This technique, advocated by Sitte in his treatise, helped to maintain the sense of enclosure in the plaza even as it allowed traffic to continue uninterrupted through the garden city.

Most garden city architects were much more successful in creating a sense of enclosure in the streets of the communities they planned than in the plazas. The debates over the width of streets and the type of housing most suitable for the movement provide an excellent window onto the many different factors that affected decisions regarding the design of the garden cities. Here the historian can trace the various social, economic, scientific and aesthetic elements that reinforced each other to create a consensus in favor of narrow residential streets lined with row houses.

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<sup>58</sup> Hermann Schmidt, “Das Gartenstadtprojekt München-Perlach,” 51.



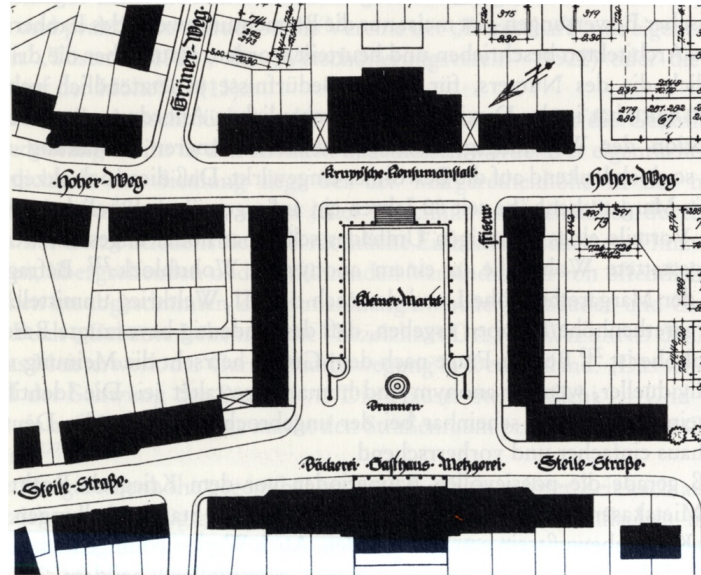


Figure 46. Georg Metzendorf, market square, Margarethenhöhe, outside Essen, ca. 1910. Metzendorf's design provided much of the enclosure desired by Sitte even though it is not a turbine plaza.



Figure 47. Georg Metzendorf, the Krupp'sche *Konsumanstalt*, Margarethenhöhe. The *Konsumanstalt* functioned as a general store for the community and dominated the central market square. The photo also shows the submerged market stalls.



Figure 48. Hans Eduard von Berlepsch-Valendàs and P. A. Hansen, aerial view of the planned garden city of München-Perlach. The market square located near the center of this drawing reveals the architects' debt to Sitte through the streets which enter the square from different angles and the use of the arched gateway to provide a sense of enclosure in relation to the main thoroughfare.

The DGG despised the overcrowded, unsanitary *Mietskaserne* (rental barracks) that dominated most German cities at the time. Hans Kampffmeyer and his cohorts viewed these multi-story apartment buildings, with makeshift shelters crowding the courtyards and families packed into tiny apartments with little light or air, as the direct result of land speculation in the big cities. Speculation drove the price of land so high that the only way a purchaser could recoup his outlay was to build as high as the building regulations would allow, over as much of the surface of the plot as possible. In place of the hulking monstrosities found in metropolitan areas, the DGG advocated the creation of low-rise, single-family homes with gardens. Many reformers at this time viewed living conditions in the city as both symptom and cause of the moral and physical degradation of the German population, especially the working classes. The single-family home therefore represented much more than an aesthetic choice; it represented the salvation of the German people. The members of the DGG idealized England in this regard, stating that English society had largely resisted the pull of the rental barracks even in their most crowded cities.<sup>59</sup> In an article recounting what the readership of *Gartenstadt* could learn from the English movement, Emil Behnisch described England as “the land of the small house, the single-family home” even for the lower classes.<sup>60</sup>

The DGG did not view the single-family home as a foreign import to German soil; rather it embodied a return to traditional German ways of living. The architect H. Wagner, who participated in the early study trips to England and was heavily involved in promoting single-

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<sup>59</sup> A.O., “Das Wohnungswesen in England,” *Gartenstadt* 7, no. 3 (March 1913): 49 and H. Wagner, “Was können wir von dem Englischen Kleinhausbau lernen?” in *Aus englischen Gartenstädten*, 24-25. These are just a few of the numerous examples in which the English are held up as a model for the type of housing to be built in German garden cities. The English may not have recognized themselves in these glowing accounts of housing in England, but they returned the favor, effusing over the control that German municipalities could exercise over land use in their cities.

<sup>60</sup> E.B., “Was wir von der englischen Gartenstadtbewegung lernen können,” *Gartenstadt* 7, no. 3 (March 1913): 41. “England ist das Land des Kleinhauses, des Einfamilienhaus auch für die breiten Volksschichten...”

family homes in Bremen, lamented the “lost feeling for living in one’s own house” and argued that the only way forward was to revive that feeling.<sup>61</sup> In Wagner’s eyes, the desire for one’s own property represented something fundamental in human nature that had been perverted by industrial conditions. He stated:

We remember the satisfaction of the games of our childhood in which we built huts that were our own property, and we see today with the same happiness that our children play the same games. The appreciation for our own property is therefore not lost. It is only the pressure of circumstances, which, under the influence of land and building speculation, has inculcated the fixed idea that living in detached houses is more expensive and less comfortable than in a multi-dwelling apartment house.<sup>62</sup>

As appealing as the single-family home appeared to the DGG, the aesthetic and moral choice to build low-rise housing in the garden cities had to be defended in economic terms before investors and the general public could be convinced that it was anything other than a utopian daydream. Even factoring in the lower cost of land outside the cities, Hans Kampffmeyer and others realized that they could not provide as much housing as desired nor make it affordable if the detached single-family house remained the ideal. In an editor’s footnote to Peter Behrens’s 1908 article on the garden city movement, Hans Kampffmeyer found it necessary to state that the DGG “had in no way settled on open construction and the single-family home.”<sup>63</sup> It did not take long, therefore, for the DGG to embrace the row house as both economically and aesthetically

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<sup>61</sup> H. Wagner, “Was können wir von dem Englischen Kleinhausbau lernen?,” in *Aus englischen Gartenstädte*, 28. “Bei uns waren zunächst die gleichen Grundbedingungen und die gleiche Entwicklung, dann aber brach die Tradition ab und wir kamen zu unsern unsäglichen Wohnungsverhältnissen, und kamen dazu, dass unserm Volk das Gefühl für das Wohnen im Eigenhaus verloren gegangen ist. Nun müssen wir zurück.”

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, “Aus den Spielen unserer Kindheit ist uns noch die Freude in Erinnerung, mit der wir uns Hütten bauten, die wir besaßen, die unser eigenster Besitz waren, wir sehen heute noch mit derselben Freude unsere Kinder die gleichen Spiele treiben. Der Sinn für den Eigenbesitz ist uns also nicht verloren gegangen, nur der Druck der Verhältnisse lastet jetzt auf uns und hat uns unter dem Einfluss der Boden- und Hausspekulation die fixe Idee eingepflanzelt, dass das Wohnen im Einzelhaus teurer und unbequemer sei wie in der Geschosswohnung.”

<sup>63</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer in a footnote to Peter Behrens, “Die Gartenstadtbewegung,” 28. “Es ist vielleicht gut, bei dieser Gelegenheit zu betonen, daß die Gartenstadtgesellschaft sich keineswegs auf die offene Bauweise und das Einfamilienhaus festgelegt hat.”

preferable. The row house provided some of the economies of larger apartment buildings while maintaining the separate living spaces for each family that the reformers deemed so important to improving morality among the working classes. Row house construction also possessed the added benefit of creating a sense of enclosure in the street.

In 1912, Bernhard Kampffmeyer provided a very thorough economic analysis of row houses in a series of articles, which appeared in *Gartenstadt*.<sup>64</sup> He argued against multi-story apartment buildings (*Etagenhaus*) upon hygienic grounds, even in low-density settings. According to Kampffmeyer, who subscribed to common theories of disease at the time, bad air moved upwards from below and no amount of cross-ventilation could retard that movement. Therefore, multiple families living piled on top of each other necessarily resulted in a less hygienic situation than single-family homes. In addition to better ventilation and light, Kampffmeyer also argued for the superior ethical and cultural value of single-family homes.<sup>65</sup> The family represented the fundamental unit of society and required its own private space, along with its own private entrance to that space.

In response to critics who asserted that single-family homes were too expensive to provide a solution to the housing crisis, Bernhard responded that the two forms of housing were not being compared upon equal grounds. Certainly, until municipalities brought land speculation under control, the single-family home would remain economically unviable in metropolitan areas. However, Bernhard and his colleagues argued that row houses built on cheaper land at the outskirts of urban areas, as proposed for garden cities, did not have to be more expensive than

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<sup>64</sup> Of course, many others presented similar arguments. The single-family home was a popular topic in the pages of *Gartenstadt*. For example, Adalbert Kelm, "Die volkswirtschaftliche Überlegenheit von Einfamilienhaus mit Garten gegenüber dem Etagenhaus," *Gartenstadt* 7, no. 7 (July 1913): 126-127 or even Peter Behrens in the article cited in the previous footnote.

<sup>65</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, "Das Ideal der Kleinwohnung," *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 2 (February 1912): 18-19.

multi-story apartment buildings. Row houses provided better ventilation, light and privacy than large apartment houses, and the shared walls and fire gables reduced costs considerably in comparison to detached homes. In addition, the attached gardens and other outdoor work and recreation spaces of the row houses added value that the multi-story apartment building could provide its residents only with difficulty and at great additional expense. Similarly, if rooms in multi-apartment buildings were held to the same standard regarding light and ventilation as expected in the garden cities, the size and height of the rooms would have to be increased substantially over what was then the norm. In fact, the rooms in row houses could be smaller than those in multi-story apartment buildings, due to the ease of access to light and air in the low-rise buildings. The inhabitants of row houses could then heat their proportionally smaller rooms much more efficiently, thereby saving money on heating costs as well as building costs.<sup>66</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer held up the dwellings in Gartenstadt Stockfeld as proof that rents for row houses could compete with those of multi-family apartment houses. Kampffmeyer reported that the rents in Stockfeld, including the cost of transportation to and from work, were no higher than those of the old slum buildings in the center of town.<sup>67</sup> In the eyes of the DGG, the municipality of Strasbourg had successfully relocated the residents from the center of town without increasing their cost of living.

Bernhard Kampffmeyer also quoted figures provided by H. Wagner in an address entitled “Hoch- oder Flachbau” (High-rise or Low-rise Building), given to the 1911 general meeting of the DGG in Dresden. Wagner conducted a series of controlled experiments regarding affordable housing in the suburbs surrounding Bremen. He began by creating a list of characteristics that all apartments should possess, including that all dwellings be completely private. In addition, he

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<sup>66</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, “Zu den Baukosten des Kleinhauses,” *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 2 (February 1912): 21-22.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

maintained that apartments should never open directly onto public areas such as stairs, should be physically separate from all other dwellings so that odors and damp from one family did not affect others in the building and should have adequate cross-ventilation and light. Wagner then built apartments that fulfilled these criteria in multiple forms, including row houses and large apartment houses. According to the research he presented to the DGG, the single-family row homes cost 3,600 Marks and each apartment in a multi-story building cost 4,250 Marks.<sup>68</sup>

The density of building and the height of the housing also had an impact on the width of the streets. The taller the building, the wider the street had to be to ensure that even the apartments on the lowest floors received some natural light.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, the choice of low-rise buildings meant that the streets in the garden cities could be much narrower than in large urban centers like Berlin, in which five- or six-story buildings ringed large blocks. This was an important argument given the struggles of the garden cities to pay for even the narrow streets within their settlements and their desire to ensure a sense of enclosure.<sup>70</sup>

H. Wagner also performed a comprehensive experiment regarding angles of light, which was reported on in the publications of the DGG. Wagner questioned the generally accepted rule that the street width should equal the height of the buildings on either side. He calculated the amount of sun that one- through four-story buildings would receive for the geographic locale of Bremen. For all four buildings, the width of the street equaled the height of the houses and the

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<sup>68</sup> H. Wagner, "Hoch- oder Flachbau. Eine Studie zu Bauordnung und Bebauungsplan" in *Bauordnung und Bebauungsplan: Ihre Bedeutung für die Gartenstadtbewegung*, 22-23.

<sup>69</sup> The increased density corresponded to increased traffic, necessitating more expensive paving surfaces. Many of the garden city proponents advocated unpaved roads in the settlements as a method of saving money on street construction. See, for example, Cornelius Gurlitt, "Straßenfluchtlinie und Baufluchtlinie," *Gartenstadt* 7, no. 8 (August 1913): 148.

<sup>70</sup> Unless the municipalities offered to cover the cost of street building and sewers, the garden cities were responsible for building the streets. The legal term for this was *Straßenrent*, and it required the owner of a house or other building to pay for all costs relating to the street in front of their building.

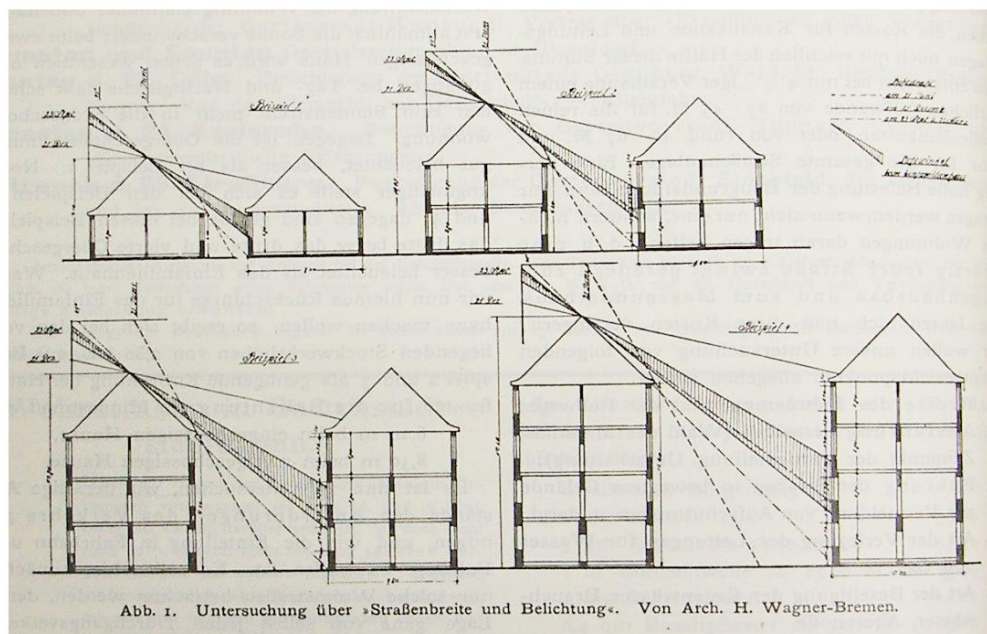


Figure 49. H. Wagner's diagram explaining the relationship of street width, building height and light exposure for buildings in Bremen.

pitch of the roof was a  $45^\circ$  angle. Given these conditions, Wagner calculated the amount of light apartments in these buildings would receive when the angle of light was  $45^\circ$ , as well as on the solstices and the equinoxes (Figure 49). Wagner discovered that the single-story house received good light for the six months of spring and summer between the equinoxes with the amount of light diminishing during the winter months. The bottom floor of the two-story building received good light for a shorter period of the year with almost no light received by the fall equinox, although the top floors were better lit than the single-story building. This pattern continued as the floors increased, with the rooms on the bottom floor receiving light for a progressively shorter amount of the year. Based on his research and assuming a floor height of approximately 2.8 meters, Wagner calculated that the minimal street width was 6 meters for single-story buildings.<sup>71</sup> These ideas also surfaced in Hellerau's building regulations (*Bauvorschriften*),

<sup>71</sup> H. Wagner, "Hoch- oder Flachbau," 28-30.



written long before Wagner's article. The authors of the regulations included a provision that the height of buildings, as well as their distance from each other, should guarantee that light can enter windows at a 45° angle.<sup>72</sup>

A 1912 article by Emil Behnisch, entitled "Wohnstraßen in Gartenstadtsiedlungen" (Residential Streets in Garden City Settlements), included testimonials from well-known urban planners such as Karl Henrici, Cornelius Gurlitt, Rudolf Eberstadt and Hermann Muthesius, supporting the narrow residential streets favored by Wagner and the DGG, as well as a chart delineating the street widths and costs for various German garden cities. While major traffic arteries in the garden cities were wider, most of the residential streets in garden cities consisted of 4 to 5 meter wide roadways bounded on each side by footpaths of 1 to 2 meters and *Vorgärten* (front gardens) of anywhere between 1 and 5 meters in width.<sup>73</sup> The footpaths and gardens allowed the architects to maintain the necessary distance between the house fronts and shielded the houses from the dust and noise of the street while simultaneously reducing street construction costs. In addition, these narrow roadways helped maintain the quiet, residential feeling of the neighborhoods by discouraging unnecessary through traffic. The romantic notion of children playing safely in the streets and gardens while their mothers kept an eye on them as they worked around the house surfaced repeatedly in the literature.

The DGG's emphasis on relatively narrow streets must be viewed in its historical context. The architects factored in aesthetic, economic, hygienic and socio-political factors when deciding to limit the width of residential streets in the garden cities. *Sitte*, whose influence can

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<sup>72</sup> "Bauvorschriften für das Plangebiet 'Hellerau in Rähnitz' bei Dresden" [Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid I, B-142, Germanisches Nationalmuseum].

<sup>73</sup> E. B., "Wohnstraßen in Gartenstadtsiedlungen," *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 8 (August 1912): 136-138. According to Axel Schollmeier, Gartenstadt Mannheim possesses streets with 4 ½ - 5 ½ meter wide roadways and 1-2 meter wide sidewalks. Most streets in Gartenstadt Karlsruhe are 7-8 meters wide, while most in Gartenstadt Hüttenau are only 5 meters wide [Schollmeier, 93, 117, and 176].

be seen in so many of the garden cities, had lamented modern planners' tendency to continually increase the size of streets and plazas, stating:

The larger the city, the bigger and wider the plazas and streets become, and the higher and bulkier are all structures, until their dimensions, what with their numerous floors and interminable rows of windows, can hardly be organized any more in an artistically effective manner.<sup>74</sup>

Sitte could point to the nearly 60 meter wide Ringstraße in Vienna or Unter den Linden in Berlin as examples of oversized streets, which presented problems for pedestrians and which were too wide in relation to the buildings lining them to produce a satisfactory artistic effect.<sup>75</sup> Of course, 60 meters was extreme even by modern city planning standards. While Sitte had denigrated the emphasis on traffic considerations advocated by planners such as Reinhard Baumeister and Josef Stübben, the pragmatic members of the DGG latched onto Stübben's idea of a hierarchy of streets, which differentiated between *Verkehrsstraße* (traffic thoroughfares) and *Wohnstraße* (residential streets). The writers of a propaganda brochure describing Hellerau's development recognized the differentiation of street size according to function as the newest development in city planning and regarded it as a way of avoiding schematism in the design of the garden city.<sup>76</sup> This distinction had earlier found its way into the Prussian building line regulations (*Fluchtliniengesetze*) of 1875, which classified streets as *Nebenstraße* (secondary streets) of 12 to 20 meters in width, *Verkehrsstraße* (traffic thoroughfares) from 20 to 30 meters wide or

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<sup>74</sup> Sitte, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, 244.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid*, 183.

<sup>76</sup> Gartenstadt Hellerau, *Die Gartenstadt Hellerau: Ein Bericht über den Zweck, die Organisation, die Ansiedlungs-Bedingungen, die bisherigen Erfolge und die Ziele*, 20.

*Hauptverkehrsstraße* (main traffic thoroughfares) of over 30 meters in width.<sup>77</sup> Most of the roadways in the garden cities were narrower than the *Nebenstraße*, although the distance between the house fronts often equaled the minimum width of that category of streets. The garden cities repeatedly had to fight local authorities for the right to build narrower streets. For example, the designers of Gartenstadt Karlsruhe wanted to build much narrower streets than the bylaws for new construction within the municipality of Karlsruhe allowed. They had to file numerous petitions and justifications for their design but finally triumphed. The city allowed them to build residential streets of between 7 and 8 meters in width with a single larger artery 12 meters wide to handle through traffic.<sup>78</sup>

In addition to controlling the costs of construction and the amount of traffic in the settlements, the narrow streets of the garden cities allowed the architects to achieve the sense of enclosure so prized by Sitte. This is especially the case when the architects lined the streets with row houses as at Am Dorffrieden in Gartenstadt Hellerau or closely spaced multi-family houses as at Dahlienweg in Gartenstadt Karlsruhe (Figures 50-51). The determination of a minimum distance between the houses did not mean that the architects always maintained the same distance between the house fronts, however. By placing buildings further back from the street, at an angle to the street, or even in the interior of a block along a footpath as in Figure 52, Riemerschmid was able to create a variation on the enclosed *Straßenbild* (streetscape) without altering the scale or the type of buildings used. In language decidedly evocative of Sitte's writing, Wolf Dohrn described exactly this method of creating varied views in Hellerau:

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<sup>77</sup> Stübgen, *Der Städtebau*, 69.

<sup>78</sup> Dieter Scheeren, "Die Gartenstadt Karlsruhe-Rüppurr 1907-1932: Wie aus einem enthusiastischen Beginn ein mühevoller Weg wurde," in *Im Grünen wohnen – im Blauen planen*, 139.

The artistic requirement thus becomes varied street pictures, and these appear to me especially healthy architectonically, not through the creation of different individual forms but rather through the correct arrangement of groups, through the advance and retreat of the building line, the projection or recession of corners....<sup>79</sup>

While varying the distance of the building from the street might seem like a relatively simple urban planning technique, the *Baufluchtlinie* or building line along the street was normally prescribed in the building regulations. At Hellerau, the authors of the building regulations wanted the architects to have room to maneuver (*Spielraum*) within the guidelines set by the town.<sup>80</sup> In this spirit, the Hellerau building regulations did not stipulate specific *Baufluchtlinie*. Rather they stated that the architect must maintain a minimum distance of 10-12 meters from the buildings on the other side of the street. The architect was therefore free to increase that distance as needed. The authors intended this flexibility to facilitate the creation of pleasing street views, and Riemerschmid, in particular, took advantage of the freedom offered by these regulations to vary both the width of his streets and the distance of the houses from the edge of street while still maintaining a closed streetscape.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Wolf Dohrn, "Gartenstadt-Hellerau – Bericht von Dr. Wolf Dohrn," *Gartenstadt* 3, no. 1 (1909): 11. "Die künstlerischen Erfordernisse, wechselvolle Straßenbilder werden also, und dies scheint mir architektonisch besonders gesund, nicht durch Schaffung verschiedener Einzelformen zustande gebracht, sondern durch die richtige Verteilung der Gruppen, durch ein Vor- und Zurückrücken von der Baufluchtlinie, ein Vorspringen oder Zurücktreten der Ecken...."

<sup>80</sup> "Vorwort zu den Bauvorschriften von Hellerau," in *Bauordnung und Bebauungsplan: Vorträge, gehalten auf der Jahresversammlung der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft* (Leipzig: Renaissance-Verlag Robert Federn, [1911]), 46. The very fact that Hellerau devised its own building regulations, rather than simply adopting the local regulations was important, as was the fact that the local authorities approved the modified regulations. Other garden city organizations could point to Hellerau as a precedent when attempting to gain similar freedoms from the restrictions of local building regulations. The building authorities still had some power over the design of Hellerau, however. In a letter to Paul Schlegel, Riemerschmid states that the apparent luxury of the streets at Hellerau was partly the result of the building authorities refusal to allow the narrow streets he desired. They forced him to adopt a minimum width of 7.5 meters where he would have preferred 5-6 meters [R. Riemerschmid to Paul Schlegel, 24 July 1914, Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid, I, B-143, Germanisches Nationalmuseum].

<sup>81</sup> "Bauvorschriften zu dem Bebauungsplan der Gartenstadt Hellerau Gemeinde Rähnitz b. Dresden. (Auszug.)," in *Bauordnung und Bebauungsplan*, 49. "Um die Schaffung entsprechender Strassenbilder zu erleichtern, werden besondere Baufluchtlinien nicht aufgestellt. Vordergebäude müssen jedoch von den jenseits der Strasse liegenden



Figure 50. Hermann Muthesius, Am Dorffrieden, Gartenstadt Hellerau, ca. 1910. The row houses and curved street create the sense of enclosure prized by garden city architects. This street is marked with a left-pointing arrow on the plan in Figure 23.



Figure 51. Dahlienweg, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe. The closely spaced multi-family houses maintain a limited sense of enclosure.

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Vordergebäuden stets einen Abstand von mindestens 12 m, im Kleinwohnhäuserviertel von mindestens 10 m haben.”

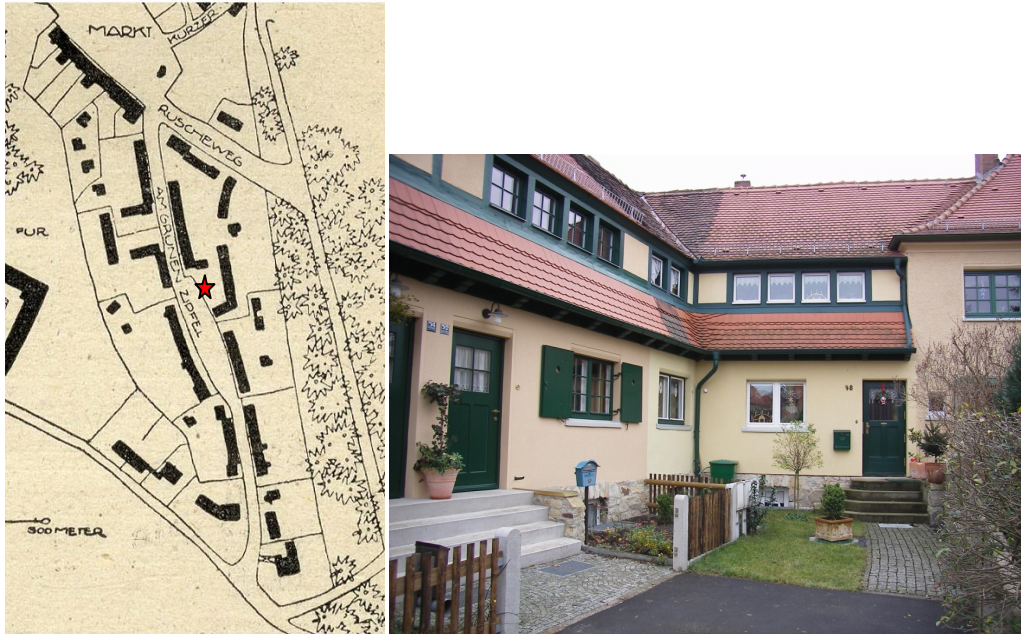


Figure 52. Richard Riemerschmid, Am Grünen Zipfel, Gartenstadt Hellerau, ca. 1909. Riemerschmid inserted this building into the middle of the block, varying the relationship of the buildings to the streets without sacrificing the desired sense of enclosure.



Figure 53. H. Lotz, 8-house group on Hirschensuhl, Gartenstadt Nürnberg, 1913. The angled wings of this group of row houses create an open space in front of the building and generate an interesting but still enclosed streetscape just as Riemerschmid had done at Hellerau.

The *geschlossene Bauweise* (closed composition) of row houses or closely spaced multiple-family houses also helped create an image of cohesive community that was crucial to the DGG's conception of the garden city. Many critics of nineteenth-century culture viewed unchecked individualism as one of the era's greatest problems. Streets featuring a jumble of jarring, competing styles and open compositions (*offene Bauweise*) of individual, single-family homes were viewed by some as evidence of that "exaggerated individualism." Behrens went so far as to term it an "anarchistic autonomy" and contrasted it with the organic whole created by artistic planners who managed to weave "heterogeneously grouped and nested houses, gardens and plazas" into unified compositions.<sup>82</sup>

All garden cities were founded upon strong communal principles, which, when necessary, placed the interests of the community above the individual wishes of the inhabitants. As a result, Hans Kampffmeyer believed that the idea of the cooperative (*Genossenschaftsgedanke*) would find its most complete architectonic expression in the garden city.<sup>83</sup> This idea was also expressed by Unwin, who spoke of "planning a home for a community that possessed a definite communal life," rather than "an accidental medley of individuals."<sup>84</sup> By virtue of their physical connection, row houses and multiple family houses were one of the easiest ways to create the sense of visual and communal unity that Behrens, Hans Kampffmeyer and Unwin, among others, desired. But even single-family homes could be grouped together to create an architectonic and spatial composition that was able to evoke the "logical expression of an existing social

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<sup>82</sup> Peter Behrens, "Die Gartenstadtbewegung," 27. "Die offene Bauweise gehört so recht an den Schluß des analytischen 19. Jahrhunderts, zum übertriebenen Betonen des Individualistischen. Es liegt etwas von einer anarchischen Selbständigkeit darin.... Allerdings muß dabei die Kunst des Städtebauers, durch das verschiedenartige Gruppieren und Ineinanderschachteln der Häuser, Gärten und Plätze, ein organisches Ganzes zu schaffen, meisterhaft beherrscht sein."

<sup>83</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, "Gartenstadt und Genossenschaft in England und Deutschland," in *Aus englischen Gartenstädten*, 78.

<sup>84</sup> Raymond Unwin, "Baugenossenschaft und Städtebau," in *Aus englischen Gartenstädten*, 90.

community.”<sup>85</sup> One can find numerous examples of closed compositions in German garden cities: see for example the elliptical ring of row houses in Gartenstadt Mannheim (Figure 38), the multi-family houses connected by arched gateways in Gartenstadt Hellerau and Gartenstadt Staaken (Figures 54-55) or the u-shaped complex of houses surrounding a courtyard in Gartenstadt Nürnberg (Figure 62). This type of unified planning was only possible when individual property ownership was prohibited and a single entity representing the community had control over the use of the land and the artistic direction of the settlement.

Of course, this emphasis on communal life did not mean that single-family, detached homes were prohibited in the garden cities, simply that they too should take their neighbors and context into account. Most proponents of the German garden city movement never intended to eradicate class differences completely. Rather, the DGG wanted to guarantee the peaceful coexistence of the classes by meeting the basic needs of even the lowliest of workers and by ensuring that land speculation was not a source of undeserved wealth for a limited few. There were conflicting views as to how the differing levels of wealth should be incorporated into the garden cities. More conservative voices, such as the business manager of Gartenstadt Nürnberg, worried about the workers resenting the wealthier inhabitants of the settlements if their living quarters were not separated.<sup>86</sup> Other, more idealistic, members of the DGG believed that the classes could learn something from each other and argued for their integration.<sup>87</sup> The architects of the garden cities did not develop a standard solution to this problem. At Gartenstadt Hellerau,

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<sup>85</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, “Die Bedeutung der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Grundlagen der Gartenstädte für den Städtebau,” in *Bauordnung und Bebauungsplan*, 42. “Wenn dagegen in der Gartenstadt die Einzelhäuser zu einheitlichen Gruppen und Straßenbildern zusammengeschlossen werden, so ist das nichts zufälliges, nichts willkürliches, sondern es ist der sinnfällig gewordene logische Ausdruck einer bestehenden sozialen Gemeinschaft.”

<sup>86</sup> Wilhelm Eckstein, “Arbeiterviertel und sogenannte bessere Viertel in der Gartenstadt,” *Gartenstadt* 3, no 6 (1909): 88.

<sup>87</sup> Dr. H. Albrecht, “Was kann das Genossenschaftswesen zur Lösung der Wohnungsfrage beitragen?” 136.





Figure 54. Richard Riemerschmid, Ruscheweg, Gartenstadt Hellerau. Riemerschmid connected two free-standing dwellings with an arched gateway, creating a more enclosed streetscape.



Figure 55. Paul Schmitthenner, Torweg, Gartenstadt Staaken. Schmitthenner also connected two free-standing buildings with a low garden wall.

Riemerschmid located the majority of the large, single-family homes in a separate area to the west of the factory and *Kleinhausviertel* or small house district (Figure 23). However, in Gartenstadt Nürnberg the types of housing were intermixed, in accordance with the express desires of the *Genossenschaft*.<sup>88</sup> Bruno Taut embraced the existing division of land parcels in Gartenstadt Falkenberg, which necessitated the integration of single-family homes into the two streets he completed (Figure 56).<sup>89</sup> Esch & Anke also integrated housing types at Gartenstadt Mannheim, locating most of the detached houses at street intersections.<sup>90</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer's original plan for Gartenstadt Karlsruhe provided another solution with the single-family homes bracketing the row houses at the center of the plan (Figure 35). As with so many other artistic and economic decisions related to the German garden cities, the pragmatists won the day and embraced multiple solutions based upon the individual conditions of each settlement.

Two further precedents for the garden city remain to be discussed, namely the industrial settlements in Germany and England. The DGG barely addressed or acknowledged most of the German industrial settlements, with the exception of Margaretenhöhe. A number of factors account for this omission. First, coal mining companies or factory owners controlled the settlements. When workers lost their jobs, they also lost their homes and any profit that resulted from the settlement went back into the pockets of the industrialists. These settlements, therefore, were the economic antithesis of the garden city ideal in which the community owned the land and the inhabitants could work in any number of local industrial or agricultural concerns.

Second, most of the German industrial settlements built prior to Krupp's Margaretenhöhe did not

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<sup>88</sup> Schollmeier, 167.

<sup>89</sup> Bletter, "Bruno Taut and Paul Scheerbart's Vision: Utopian Aspects of German Expressionist Architecture," 51-52.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid*, 93.

take aesthetics into account. Their planners created grids and lined the streets with either monotonous row houses or the back-to-back cottages favored in the French Cité Ouyière in Mulhouse, created before the Franco-Prussian war.<sup>91</sup> About the time that Sitte published his book, the look of these settlements began to change. The planners began to favor multi-family houses on individual plots of land (Figure 57). The Mulhouse model of housing remained popular although the architects attempted more ornate stucco or brick decoration.<sup>92</sup>

It was not until the middle of the first decade of the twentieth-century that German industrial settlements became an aesthetic model for the garden city movement. Dahlhause Heide, designed by Robert Schmohl, and Margarethenhöhe, designed by Georg Metzendorf, both for the Krupp Firma, and Theodor Fischer's slightly earlier settlement of Gmindersdorf particularly peaked the interest of the DGG. Following the instructions of the client and the presumed wishes of the future inhabitants, Fischer created a settlement that consisted mostly of individual houses for up to four families.<sup>93</sup> The most influential part of the design was the horseshoe-shaped rest home with its central pavilion and side wings of row houses, which formed a focal point for the settlement. Taut, who worked in Fischer's office, would later incorporate this horseshoe form, into an unbuilt crescent-shaped terrace in Gartenstadt Falkenberg (see Figure 44) and into the central housing feature in the Berlin-Britz Siedlung.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Franziska Bollerey and Kristiana Hartmann, "Wohnen im Revier: Siedlungen vom Beginn der Industrialisierung bis 1933, Analyse – Bewertung – Chancen," *Bauwelt* 66, no. 24 (27 June 1975): 92. The German literature refers to the Mulhouse plans as *Kreuzgrundrisse* or cross-plans because the four cottages are lined up back-to-back with the dividing walls between the houses forming a cross.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid*, 94.

<sup>93</sup> Theodor Fischer, "Gmindersdorf: Arbeiterkolonie von Ulrich Gminder G.m.b.H. in Reutlingen," *Moderne Bauformen, Monatshefte für Architektur* 7, no. 8 (1908): 313.

<sup>94</sup> Kristiana Hartmann, "Bruno Taut, der Architekt und Pläne von Gartenstädten und Siedlungen," in *Bruno Taut 1880-1938: Architekt zwischen Tradition und Avantgarde*, eds. Winfried Nerdinger, Kristiana Hartmann, Matthias Schirren, Manfred Speidel (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2001), 143.

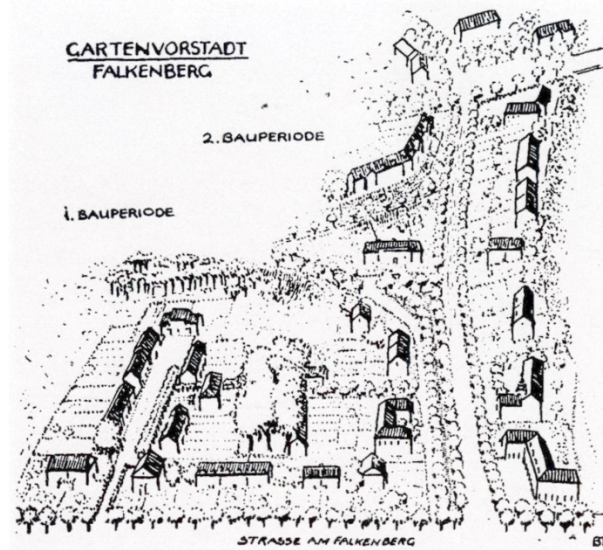


Figure 56. Bruno Taut, Akazienhof, Gartenstadt Falkenberg, ca. 1914. Taut mixed single-family and multi-family homes on the two streets he built for this garden city outside Berlin.



Figure 57. Robert Schmohl, Kolonie Alfredshof, Essen, ca. 1894.

Fischer was highly influential among the architects who built garden cities, although Gmindersdorf had only a limited impact on the form of the settlements. Fischer maintained a close relationship with Riemerschmid, and both Taut and Ernst May worked in his office as young men.<sup>95</sup> Even if he did not introduce these men to Sitte's ideas, he provided them with models based upon those concepts and a working method that incorporated pragmatism and respect for local traditions and conditions.

Schmohl's later settlements, along with those of Metzendorf, more closely resembled those of the garden cities. The streets followed the movement of the land, and the buildings shaped the spatial characteristics of the streets and plazas. These settlements for the Krupp firm incorporated the Sittesque ideals revered by the DGG at approximately the same time that Riemerschmid was planning Gartenstadt Hellerau and Hans Kampffmeyer was working out the initial design for Gartenstadt Karlsruhe. Georg Metzendorf's grandson, Rainer, asserts that his grandfather learned about the cooperative at Gartenstadt Hellerau through an unbuilt design he created for a street in that garden city in 1908.<sup>96</sup> These threads, therefore, appear to have been mutually reinforcing. The propaganda efforts of the DGG influenced the builders of industrial settlements even as settlements like Margarethenhöhe helped define the garden city ideal.

The aesthetic relationship of the DGG to its English counterpart is even more complicated. In *Die Gartenstadtbewegung*, Hans Kampffmeyer described in detail the model industrial villages of Port Sunlight, Bournville and Earwick as forerunners of the garden city of Letchworth and the garden suburb of Hampstead. He praised all of these endeavors for their hygienic improvements and for the inclusion of social facilities, such as lecture halls. More

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<sup>95</sup> Winfried Nerdinger, *Theodor Fischer: Architekt und Städtebauer* (Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1988), 36, 49.

<sup>96</sup> Rainer Metzendorf, *Georg Metzendorf 1874-1934: Siedlungen und Bauten* (Darmstadt: Selbstverlag der Hessischen Historischen Kommission Darmstadt und der Historischen Kommission für Hessen, 1994), 44.

importantly, he lauded the efforts of the industrialists to control speculation, paving the way for the cooperative foundations of the actual garden cities.<sup>97</sup> He discussed the “beauty” of these settlements in only the most general terms, stating for example that the illustrations in his book did not accurately capture the *Kulturarbeit* (cultural work) of Bournville. In order to comprehend that element, one had to walk through the settlement, with its park-like setting and its pretty houses, and see the inhabitants caring for their flourishing gardens.<sup>98</sup> The idea that the visitor could only experience the settlement by moving through it reflects Sitte’s emphasis on the viewer’s spatial experience of cities. More importantly, this assessment reflects Kampffmeyer’s belief in architecture and urban planning as an expression of the communal life of the settlement.

Kampffmeyer also praised Bournville for the unity of the artistic vision expressed, stating that the architect, William Alexander Harvey, had drawn impressively on the “local tradition of the country cottage” and “merged the entire composition with the landscape into a harmonious whole.”<sup>99</sup> Hans Bernoulli showered similar praise on the garden suburb of Hampstead, which he viewed as an expression of the cooperative that created it. Parker & Unwin had designed the plan for the suburb, and Bernoulli admired their clear vision for the settlement, with the residential areas arranged in a visibly subordinate relationship to the highest points of the plan, upon which were placed public buildings. The architects concentrated different types of construction in groups throughout the plan, and Parker & Unwin granted whole streets or

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<sup>97</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, *Die Gartenstadtbewegung*, 11-23.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, 13. “Von der Schönheit der Siedelung geben uns Abbildungen nur eine ungenügende Vorstellung. Man muß durch die weiten Parkanlagen mit ihren schmucken Häusern selbst gewandert sein, man muß den Bewohnern zugesehen haben, wenn sie am Abend sich mit der Pflege ihrer üppig gedeihenden Gärten vergnügten, um eine rechte Vorstellung zu erlangen von der Kulturarbeit, die hier geleistet ist.”

<sup>99</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, *Gartenstadt und Ästhetische Kultur*, 9. “Bei den Entwürfen für die Häuser hat der Architekt der Gemeinde, Mr. Harvey, an den ortsüblichen Landhausstil frei angeknüpft. Die ganze Anlage verschmilzt infolgedessen mit der Landschaft zu einem harmonischen Ganzen. Man hat den Eindruck, dass der Ort von jeher dort gelegen habe.”

housing quarters to the other participating architects including Michael Burney, Geoffrey Lucas, and Edwin Lutyens, so as to maintain a unified vision within the various components of the larger plan.<sup>100</sup>

The DGG could not reach a consensus regarding the aesthetics of the English models, however. In the same article in which Bernoulli praised Hampstead, he criticized Parker & Unwin for abandoning the idea of the garden city as a unified creation at Letchworth. The railway bisecting the plan made coherence difficult and, in Bernoulli's opinion, resulted in the south-west portion of the plan dominating the whole (Figure 41).<sup>101</sup> Similarly, while H. Wagner appreciated the English emphasis on the single-family home, he also characterized most English industrial housing schemes as consisting of "monotonous" housing stock, which created "bleak" streetscapes.<sup>102</sup> Bournville was the one exception he admitted, but in general, he thought German architects would do much better to imitate Hellerau or Margarethenhöhe.<sup>103</sup> The garden architect Leberecht Migge – who wanted to move away from romantic reinterpretations of medieval cities and argued for rational, economic designs in language that modernist architects of the 1920s would have embraced – also criticized the English models. Migge agreed with Bernoulli that Hampstead represented one of the purest designs in terms of the organizational and formal aspects of the plan, but he deplored the superficial, external decorations of the architecture. Migge condemned the streets of Letchworth and Hampstead for lacking a sense of

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<sup>100</sup> Hans Bernoulli, "Die neue Stadt," 110.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid, 109.

<sup>102</sup> H. Wagner, "Was können wir von dem Englischen Kleinhausbau lernen?" in *Aus englischen Gartenstädten*, 34.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid, 34-35.

enclosure, and the architecture for relying too heavily upon German tropes, which he found inappropriate in an English setting.<sup>104</sup>

Here, Migge hit upon an interesting example of the complex interrelationship of the German and English garden city movements. Through their plans for Letchworth, Hampstead and the garden village of New Earswick, Parker & Unwin largely defined the aesthetics of the English garden city movement in the first decades of the twentieth century. Despite the criticisms leveled at these projects, many German architects looked to these designs for inspiration, especially those who participated in the DGG's study trips. Unwin, in turn, was heavily influenced by German urban planning, especially after Thomas Horsfall's 1904 report on housing and planning conditions in Germany brought advances in that country to the attention of English audiences.<sup>105</sup> Unwin expressed regret that he encountered Sitte's ideas only after he had designed Letchworth, but he wholeheartedly embraced Sittesque principles of design – including the adaptation of the streets to the terrain, the complex visual layering of the streetscapes, and the use of turbine plazas – at Hampstead and in his urban planning treatise, *Town Planning in Practice* (1909).<sup>106</sup> Peter Hall finds further evidence of Unwin's interest in German planning in the shopping area on Finchley Road in Hampstead (ca. 1909), which bears a striking resemblance to gated, walled medieval towns such as Nürnberg or Rothenberg that Unwin had

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<sup>104</sup> Leberecht Migge, "Mehr Ökonomie," *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 10 (October 1910): 111. "Die Straßen ermangeln noch oft der Geschlossenheit und einer ehrlichen Führung. Backstein wechselt mit Putz in heimischer und stark deutschentlehnter Bauweise, mit einer in englischer Luft besonders peinlichen Wirkung."

<sup>105</sup> Collins and Collins, *Camillo Sitte and the Birth of Modern City Planning*, 38, 101.

<sup>106</sup> Unwin, *Town Planning in Practice*, 225 and Collins and Collins, *Camillo Sitte and the Birth of Modern City Planning*, 138 (footnote 103).



recently seen on a sketching excursion.<sup>107</sup> Contemporary German visitors observed the resemblance as well and lauded “the happy result of studying German cities.”<sup>108</sup>

In addition to the general emphasis on artistic city planning, which was greatly admired by participants in the DGG’s study tours, a few German architects borrowed specific elements from Unwin’s designs. As previously mentioned, Bernoulli imitated the central axial feature of Letchworth at Gartenstadt Falkenberg, although there were also German precedents for his adoption of classical motifs.<sup>109</sup> More importantly, many of the architects of German garden cities borrowed the cul-de-sac or close motif that Unwin used repeatedly at Hampstead and which had been illegal in England until Unwin helped to pass the Hampstead Garden Suburb Act of 1906.<sup>110</sup> The cul-de-sac prevented through traffic in residential areas and also created a visible expression of community, with the houses grouped around a central lawn. Unwin viewed this design element as a means of shaping the culture of the garden city by encouraging “neighborly association,” providing yet another instance of the garden city movement’s belief in the ability of design to shape culture.<sup>111</sup> Figures 58 and 59 reveal how Unwin used the motif at Hampstead Garden Suburb. At the left of the plan, the cul-de-sacs open off the subsidiary town center and alternate with through streets leading to other parts of the settlement. Elsewhere, Unwin provided privacy and community for the inhabitants who lived further away from the main town center by lining the road leading away from that center with a series of cul-de-sacs.

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<sup>107</sup> Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 104-105.

<sup>108</sup> Paul Schmidt, “Ferdinand: Eine Studienfahrt zu den Gartenstädten Englands,” in *Kunstchronik* 21 (1910): 6, quoted in Kristiana Hartmann, *Deutsche Gartenstadtbewegung*, 83.

<sup>109</sup> Kristiana Hartmann, “Hans Bernoulli und die Gartenstadt,” 23 and Karl Nägelin, “Hans Bernoulli 1876-1959,” 7.

<sup>110</sup> Walter L. Creese, introduction to *The Legacy of Raymond Unwin: A Human Pattern for Planning*, (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1967), 21.

<sup>111</sup> Creese, 96.

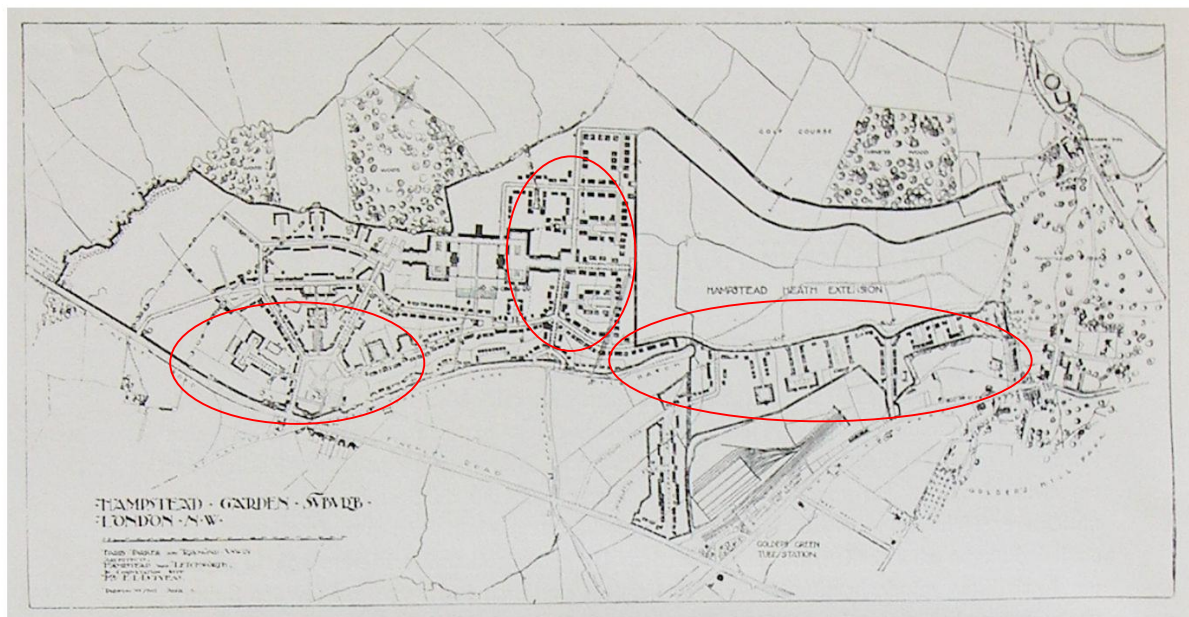


Figure 58. Parker & Unwin, Hampstead Garden Suburb, ca. 1907. Notice the cul-de-sacs scattered throughout the plan.

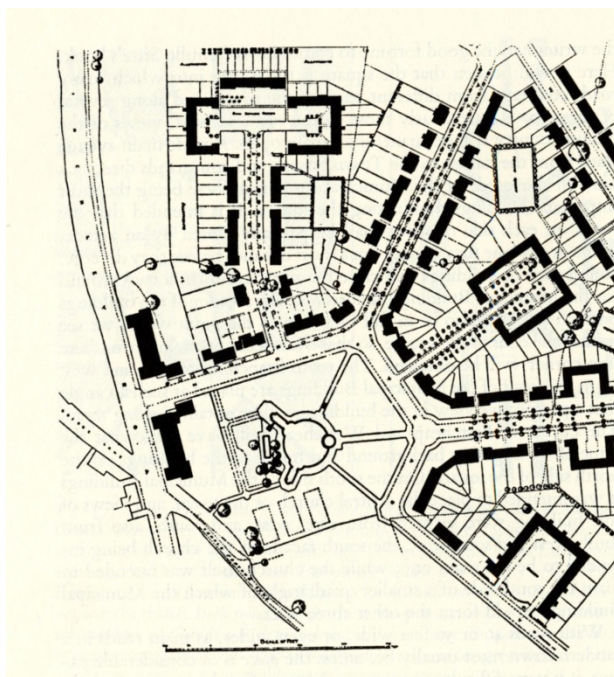


Figure 59. Parker & Unwin, Hampstead Garden Suburb, detail of cul-de-sacs in the lower left hand corner of the plan in Figure 58.

Taut used that cul-de-sac, or *Hof* (courtyard) form as it is known in Germany, in the Akazienhof at Gartenstadt Falkenberg (Figures 56 and 60). The *Hof* opened off Straße am Falkenberg, one of the main traffic thoroughfares in this district in southeastern Berlin. The narrow entrance to the courtyard was flanked by two detached houses. Taut then created a wider courtyard by pushing the row houses on one side back from the street line. This decision activated the space by abandoning the perfect axuality that characterized the English examples of cul-de-sacs at Hampstead.<sup>112</sup> The space opens up in front of the viewer, who enters at the lower left corner of the courtyard. Taut added further visual interest to the simple row houses on the right-hand side by creating a break in the middle of the row. He maintained the sense of enclosure, however, by inserting a four-family home behind the line of row houses in order to close the gap visually. He also planted a double row of acacia trees along that same side of the courtyard. Taut closed the vertical axis with a three-family home with a projecting central pavilion and symmetrical, slightly recessed side wings.

Taut created a similar cul-de-sac formation at Maienhof in Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform, which was nearly contemporaneous with Akazienhof. Once again, he lined the courtyard with row houses and closed the long axis with a multi-family dwelling whose massing created the appearance of a single, large structure. Unlike at Gartenstadt Falkenberg, a narrow street crossed the *Hof* in front of the terminal building. Taut later placed the administrative building for the settlement in the remaining opening to the courtyard, closing the other end of the long axis and creating a feeling of complete enclosure. A large doorway to the courtyard formed the central feature of the administration building and provided visual and pedestrian access to Maienhof from Zur Siedlung Reform (Figure 43).

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<sup>112</sup> In an essay entitled, “»Ein großer Baum muß tiefe Wurzeln haben«: Tradition und Moderne bei Bruno Taut,” Winfried Nerding argues that the breaking of axes and the use of asymmetrical forms was something that Taut learned from Theodor Fischer [*Bruno Taut 1880-1938: Architekt zwischen Tradition und Avantgarde*, 12].



Figure 60. Bruno Taut, Akazienhof, Gartenstadt Falkenberg, ca. 1914. This courtyard is the quintessential German version of the cul-de-sac form popularized by Raymond Unwin.

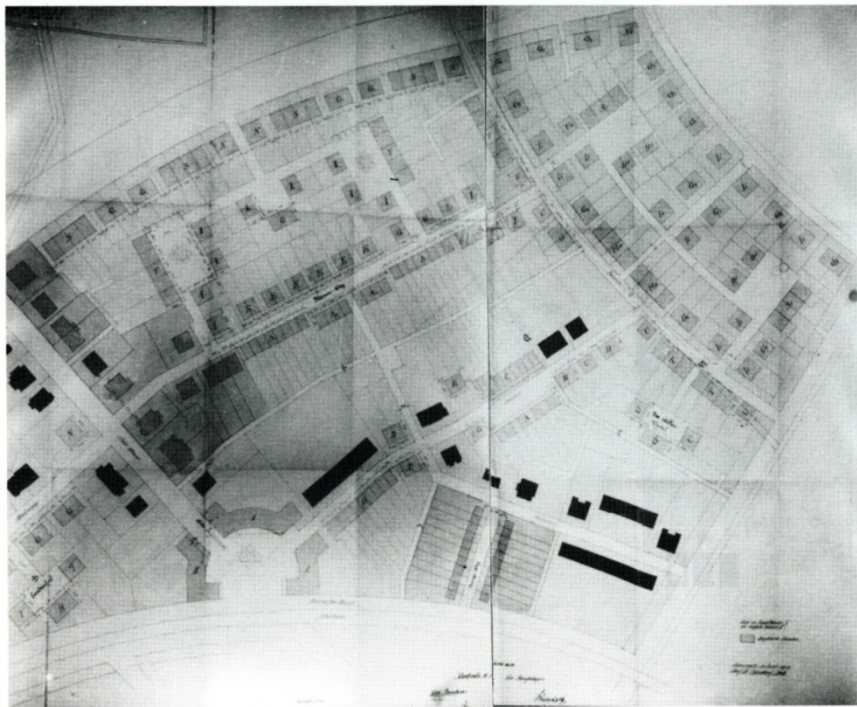


Figure 61. Friedrich Ostendorf's revised plan for Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, ca. 1912 (unbuilt). The plan incorporates four modified versions of the cul-de-sac.

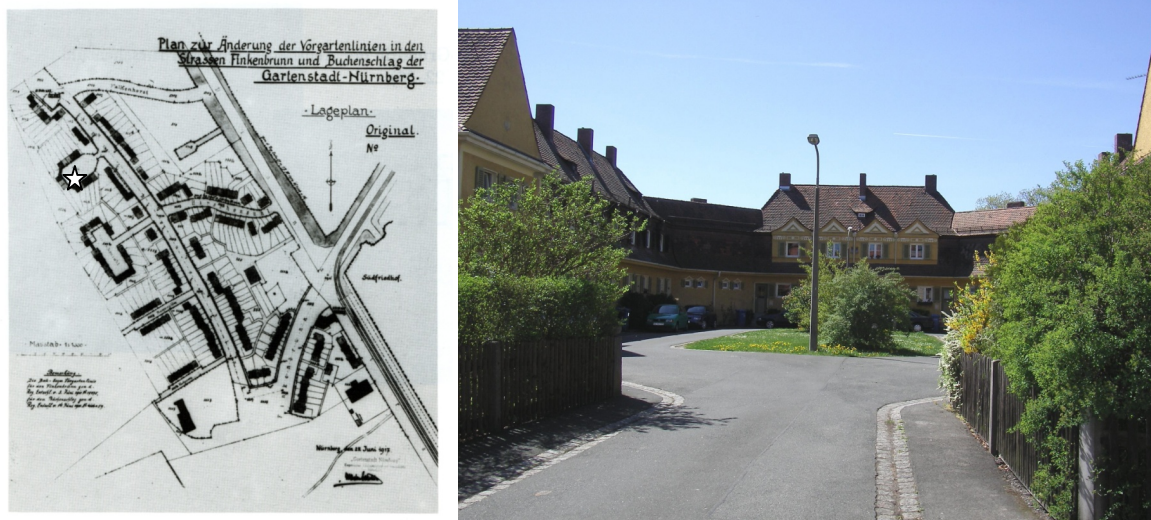


Figure 62. Lehr & Leubert, detail of the plan for Gartenstadt Nürnberg, ca. 1912 (left). The row houses lining im Winkel (right) are marked with a star on the plan.

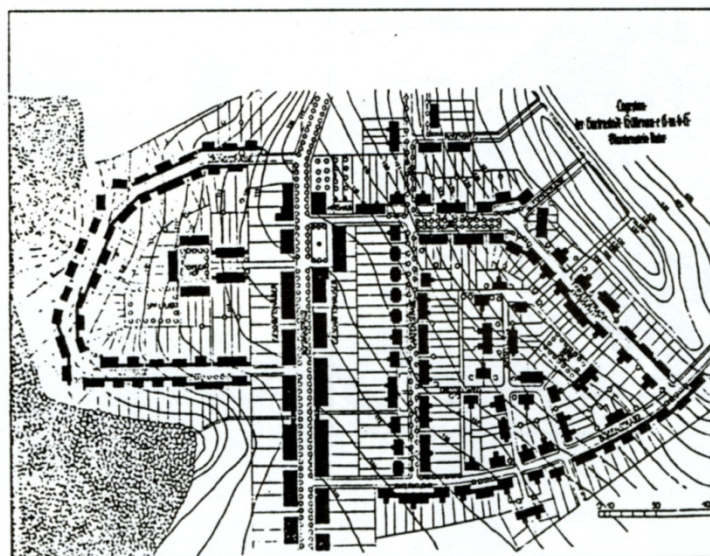


Figure 63. Georg Metzendorf, plan of Gartenstadt Hüttenau, ca. 1911. A cul-de-sac forms the central feature of the left side of the plan.

Other German architects also embraced the cul-de-sac form. Riemerschmid essentially scattered *Wohnhöfe* throughout his plan for Gartenstadt Nürnberg by placing houses within the larger blocks of his plan. Lehr & Leubert, the architects who took over from Riemerschmid, adapted this aspect of his design and created a number of *Wohnhöfe*, including Im Winkel (Figure 62).<sup>113</sup> Georg Metzendorf created symmetrical *Wohnhöfe* bisected by Robert-Schmohl-Platz in Margarethenhöhe, further creating a sense of enclosure by connecting the houses with arches that bridge the street openings. Metzendorf also incorporated a *Wohnhof* in his plan for Gartenstadt Hüttenau, using it as the central feature of a larger u-shaped street of housing (Figure 63). Lastly, although they were never built, Friedrich Ostendorf incorporated *Wohnhöfe* into his revised plan for Gartenstadt Karlsruhe (1912).<sup>114</sup> One can see them at the right hand side of the plan in Figure 61.

Clearly, the architects responsible for designing garden cities drew on a far-ranging array of sources. Yet, most textbooks on modern architecture have erroneously reduced the German garden city movement to the picturesque plan of Richard Riemerschmid at Hellerau, despite the fact that many garden cities do not share this aesthetic. This conflation of the garden city with picturesque design has occurred in part because Hellerau was the best-known and one of the most complete examples in Germany but also because the organizers of garden cities were never able to achieve fully the social, economic and political reforms that formed the core of Howard's concept. This lent the purely formal qualities of the built examples more importance than they originally possessed. The historical legacy of the movement is further complicated by the fact that the Nazis stripped the settlements of whatever original political significance they retained and emphasized the conservative elements of their design, such as curving streets and steeply

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<sup>113</sup> Schollmeier, 168.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid, 118.

pitched roofs. The plans of the garden cities certainly look traditional in comparison to later housing settlements like Siemenstadt in Berlin-Charlottenburg (1929-1930), with its long, parallel rows of flat-roofed, mid-rise apartment buildings, but those modernist developments would not have been possible without the financial and aesthetic advances embodied in the garden city.

## Chapter 6

### Modernity versus Tradition: The Architectural Paradox of the German Garden City

The Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft contained a number of constituencies that should have been at war with each other. Political progressives worked peacefully alongside conservative members. Architects who paved the way for the modernism of the 1920s joined those whose highest aim consisted of preserving traditional German methods of building. This apparent paradox can be explained partially by the elasticity of the garden city concept, which Howard intentionally defined in only the broadest strokes. Even more importantly, those on opposite ends of the political and aesthetic spectrum often drew on a wellspring of common ideas.

Of the architectural writers who had the greatest impact on the board of the DGG and on the architects who determined the physical appearance of the garden cities, Hermann Muthesius and Paul Schultze-Naumburg seemingly represent opposite poles of thinking. Every history of modern architecture in Germany lauds Muthesius's efforts to define an architecture appropriate to the changing, industrial conditions of the twentieth century through both his writings and his involvement in the Deutsche Werkbund. In contrast, those same histories ignore Schultze-Naumburg, the founder of the Deutsche Bund Heimatschutz, an organization whose importance for ordinary early twentieth-century Germans greatly exceeded that of the Werkbund.<sup>1</sup> This occurs in part because of the triumph of modernism in the following decades and in part because

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<sup>1</sup> The concept of *Heimatschutz* does not translate easily into English. The literal translation is homeland preservation or defense. As Celia Applegate explains, "the term *Heimat* carries a burden of reference and implication that is not adequately conveyed by the translation homeland or hometown.... *Heimat* suggests a long-standing though not always explicit debate in German society about the proper relation between the locality and the nation, the particular and the general, the many and the one.... *Heimat's* claim to the status of a key word in German history goes beyond the particularities of regionality and the generalities of nationality to rest finally on what both region and nation have in common: the effort, for better or for worse, to maintain 'community' against the economic, political, and cultural forces that would scatter it" [Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 3-6].



historians are uncomfortable with Schultze-Naumburg's ideas on the superiority of the German race and his close collaboration with the Nazis. At the time when he exerted the most influence over the German garden city movement, however, he had not yet articulated his racial philosophy. His major treatise, *Kulturarbeiten* (Cultural Work), the nine volumes of which were published between 1900 and 1917, barely hinted at the chauvinistic ideology he would espouse more strongly after World War I.

Although their ideas about architecture would diverge significantly later in the century, Muthesius and Schultze-Naumburg's writings at this time emerged from similar conceptions concerning the power of art to change society.<sup>2</sup> Both men acted as advisors to the DGG and numbered among the signatories of the *Ansiedlungs-Aufruf!* (Call to Settlement), one of the first propaganda documents produced by the organization in 1905.<sup>3</sup> Adolf Otto asked both Muthesius and Schultze-Naumburg to submit material for the slides that would form the basis of the lectures that Hans Kampffmeyer and other members of the board gave across Germany to build support for DGG's initiatives. Schultze-Naumburg most likely contributed images such as those included in *Kulturarbeiten* (Figure 64), while Otto asked Muthesius to provide images of English settlements like Bournville or Port Sunlight.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> By 1910, Muthesius began to express frustration with Schultze-Naumburg's unwillingness to move beyond the traditional architecture that was supposed to be the starting point for contemporary developments. As Barbara Miller Lane has pointed out, by 1926, Schultze-Naumburg was openly attacking the new building methods [*Architecture and Politics in Germany* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1985.), 133]. However, in the first few years of the century, their ideas still overlapped significantly, and both men were highly influential for the architects of the garden cities.

<sup>3</sup> In a letter from Hermann Muthesius dated April 9, 1905, Adolf Otto used the fact that Schultze-Naumburg, among others, had already signed the document to convince Muthesius to sign [Sammlung Deutscher Werkbund, Nachlaß Hermann Muthesius, Werkbundarchiv Berlin].

<sup>4</sup> Adolf Otto to Hermann Muthesius, 25 May 1904 [Sammlung Deutscher Werkbund, Nachlaß Hermann Muthesius, Werkbundarchiv Berlin]. Otto was happy to receive material on German settlements as well. He suggested industrial housing projects such as "Borsig, Krupp, Bethel bei Bielefeld, or Nikolassee" but stated that they have already received a lot of German materials from Schultze-Naumburg.

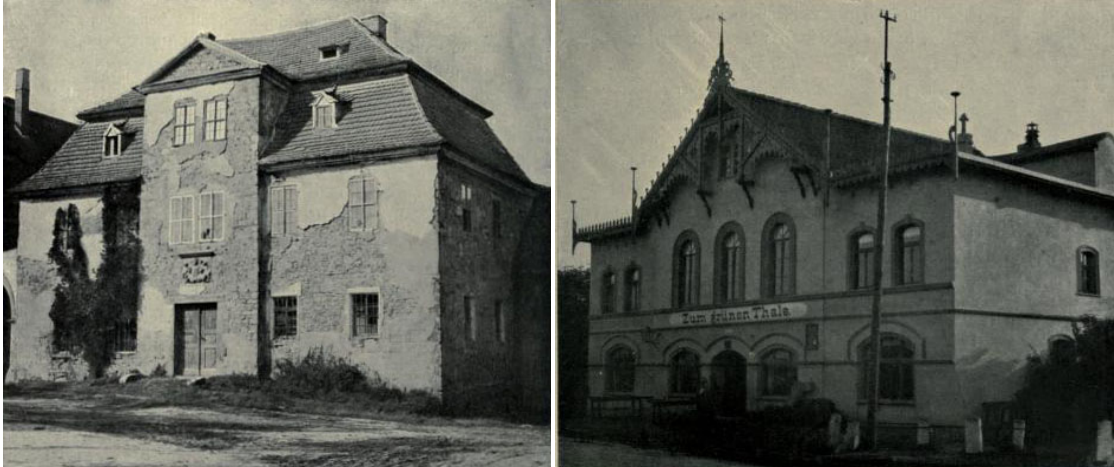


Figure 64. A pair of contrasting images from the first volume of Paul Schultze-Naumburg's *Kulturarbeiten*. The simple juxtaposition of images labeled *Beispiel* or example (on the left) and *Gegenbeispiel* or counter example (on the right) makes Schultze-Naumburg's preference for simplicity in massing and decoration abundantly clear.

Not surprisingly, both men's ideas found currency in publications dedicated to the renewal of artistic culture such as Ferdinand Avenarius's *Kunstwart* and Joseph August Lux's *Hohe Warte*, which the board members of the DGG avidly read and which were closely associated with the reform milieu in Dresden at the time that Karl Schmidt was developing plans for Hellerau.<sup>5</sup> Through the pages of these magazines and their own independent publications, Schultze-Naumburg and Muthesius helped shape some of the dominant tropes within turn-of-the-century artistic discourse. They lamented what they viewed as the nineteenth century's complete lack of culture, the evidence of which they found in the dizzying array of architectural styles used to decorate contemporary buildings and the cheap machine-made reproductions of formerly handcrafted objects. Both men traced the fundamental break in artistic tradition to the rise of

<sup>5</sup> Mark Jarzombek, "Joseph August Lux: Werkbund Promoter, Historian of a Lost Modernity," 202. Hermann Muthesius and Paul Schultze-Naumburg were two of the many reformers who helped Lux produce *Hohe Warte*, which also published the first issues of *Gartenstadt* as a supplement to the main publication. Both men also had connections to Ferdinand Avenarius who lived in Dresden and produced *Kunstwart* there. Schultze-Naumburg served for a time as the fine arts editor for the magazine and wrote some of his first articles for the magazine. Georg D. W. Callway, the publisher of *Kunstwart*, also printed Schultze-Naumburg's *Kulturarbeiten*.

industrialism, but neither rejected the technical or hygienic advancements of that age. They wanted to find a way to incorporate those advances into productions that reflected an artistically unified culture rather than the chaos they discerned in the stylistic eclecticism prevalent at the time.

Given the dominance of these ideas and Hans Kampffmeyer's own desire to instigate artistic reform through the medium of the garden city, it should come as no surprise that the pages of the garden city publications were filled with language that echoed that of Muthesius and Schultze-Naumburg. Kampffmeyer repeatedly referred to Germany's current "artistic barbarism" and bemoaned the fact that "shoddy copies of historical style dominate in architecture and in the applied arts."<sup>6</sup> His earliest tract on the relationship between the garden city concept and aesthetics entitled *Die Gartenstadt und ästhetische Kultur* (The Garden City and Aesthetic Culture, 1904) denounced the current modes of artistic production even more emphatically. He declared:

How disingenuous and flashy these ornament-overloaded houses appear! And the exterior corresponds to the interior. Pasted-on ornament defiles our household utensils down to the cheapest Bazaar furniture.<sup>7</sup>

Like his better-known compatriots, Kampffmeyer longed for an era when all artistic productions arose naturally from a unified culture. Since that unified culture did not appear to be on the horizon, he argued that architects and designers would have to elevate the public's taste by creating artistic surroundings, which would usher in the desired changes. Just as badly designed

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<sup>6</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, "Die kulturelle Bedeutung der Gartenstadtbewegung," 54. "In der Baukunst und im Kunstgewerbe herrscht die schlechte Kopie historischer Stile und das Dutzendornament..."

<sup>7</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, *Gartenstadt und ästhetische Kultur*, 6. "Wie unehrlich und aufdringlich erscheinen diese ornamentüberladenen Häuser! Und dem Aeusseren dieser Häuser entspricht das Innere. Aufgepapptes Ornament verunstaltet auch unser Hausgerät bis zum billigsten Bazarmöbel."

surroundings were a reflection of a family's or a society's lack of culture and continued to reinforce that lack every day, artistically created surroundings could reverse the process.

Discerning readers of Kampffmeyer's early propaganda texts would have been struck by the similarities to Muthesius's writings in particular. Letters between the two men prove that Kampffmeyer knew Muthesius's writings well. In December of 1908, for example, he asked Muthesius to submit an article on "Typenhäuser" (standardized houses) or "Englische und Deutsche Kleinhäuser" (English and German small houses), presumably for the DGG's magazine, *Gartenstadt*.<sup>8</sup> In that same year, the editorial staff of *Gartenstadt* recommended Muthesius's collection of essays entitled *Architektur und Kunstgewerbe* (Architecture and the Applied Arts) to their readership.<sup>9</sup> But Kampffmeyer and the other board members were familiar with Muthesius's ideas long before that date. In fact, ideas from Kampffmeyer's *Gartenstadt und Ästhetische Kultur* (1904) seem to be borrowed from Muthesius's *Stil-Architektur und Baukunst* (*Style-Architecture and Building-Art*, 1902).<sup>10</sup> Both Kampffmeyer and Muthesius, for example, asserted that a higher cultural unity was possible only when art permeated every level of society. Muthesius began *Stil-Architektur und Baukunst* with this idea in order to convince the reader of the need to create an artistic culture comparable to that possessed by classical Greece or medieval society. He stated:

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<sup>8</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer to Herman Muthesius, 23 December 1908 [Sammlung Deutscher Werkbund, Nachlaß Hermann Muthesius, Werkbund Archiv].

<sup>9</sup> "Bücherrundschau," *Gartenstadt* 2, no. 6 (1908): 47.

<sup>10</sup> As Stanford Anderson has pointed out in his introduction to the English translation of *Stil-Architektur und Baukunst*, the ideas in *Stil-Architektur* were common currency at the time. Muthesius gave them their most coherent and potent formulation, however, and presented them at a propitious moment, when the architectural community in Germany began to turn away from the *Jugendstil* and search for a new aesthetic direction [Stanford Anderson, introduction to *Style-Architecture and Building-Art: Transformations of Architecture in the 19th Century and its Present Condition*, by Hermann Muthesius (Santa Monica, CA.: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994), 1, 27].

In judging the question of whether a period can be termed artistic or inartistic, no factor is so decisive as the degree to which art is the property of the entire people—to what extent it is an essential part of the cultural endowment of the time.<sup>11</sup>

Hans Kampffmeyer turned this idea into a battle cry for the democratic impulses of the garden city movement when he proclaimed:

We are thoroughly convinced that our rapidly moving present can only attain its own style, its own great art, if aesthetic culture does not remain the prerogative of a privileged minority but pervades all classes of the population.<sup>12</sup>

The idea that all classes should be involved in aesthetic culture was also implicitly present in Schultze-Naumburg's *Kulturarbeiten*. In the introduction to the volume on house construction, he stated that he did not write the book for the educated (*die Gebildeten*), who had access to more complex versions of his ideas on reform in various specialized publications, but rather “to win the people (*Volk*) over” to his ideas.<sup>13</sup> By *Volk*, he meant the lower middle class (*Kleinbürgertum*), the farmers and workers: the very people normally excluded from aesthetic discussions but who had a direct hand in the most significant physical transformations of the German landscape in the nineteenth century.

Muthesius and Schultze-Naumburg proposed similar solutions for achieving the desired cultural renewal in architecture. Both men advocated eliminating the indiscriminate use of

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<sup>11</sup> Hermann Muthesius, *Style-Architecture and Building-Art: Transformations of Architecture in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and Its Present Condition*, trans. Stanford Anderson (Santa Monica, CA.: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994), 50.

<sup>12</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, *Gartenstadt und ästhetische Kultur*, 5. “Dann aber sind sie auch von der Ueberzeugung durchdrungen, dass unsere rasch bewegte Gegenwart nur dann zu einem eigenen Stil, zu einer eigenen grossen Kunst gelangen kann, wenn ästhetische Kultur nicht das Vorrecht einer bevorzugten Minorität bleibt, sondern alle Bevölkerungsklassen durchdringt.”

<sup>13</sup> Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Kulturarbeiten*, Band I: Hausbau. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Munich: Georg D. W. Callway, 1912), iii. “Die Bücher wenden sich auch nicht ausschliesslich an die, die sich »die Gebildeten« nennen, sondern unser Wunsch ist es, das Volk zu gewinnen, den kleinen Bürger, die Bauern, die Arbeiter, diejenigen, die am nachhaltigsten an der Umgestaltung des Antlitzes unseres Landes tätig sind.”

historical styles and promoted the satisfaction of functional requirements as a starting point for contemporary architecture and design. Muthesius argued that if an architect addressed the functional requirements of building, the form would be derived from the purpose the building served, the exterior would “mirror this inner essence” and superficial decoration would fall by the wayside.<sup>14</sup> The building would be *schlicht* (simple) and *sachlich* (objective or matter of fact). Schultze-Naumburg likewise emphasized the beauty that could be derived from simple, functional forms.

I believe that all our human productions would be beautiful... if the following were held to be the highest rule of work: to only build that which serves a good purpose, and at the same time to always express this purpose in the simplest and most quintessential manner.<sup>15</sup>

Despite their emphasis on functionalism, neither man excluded artistic considerations from the design process. Muthesius contended that the architect could present functional forms “more symbolically than practically—with a handsome elegance and a certain clean conciseness of form.”<sup>16</sup> In other words, he left room for that ineffable artistic touch which elevated an object or building above the realm of engineering. Schultze-Naumburg, as the quote above reveals, focused on the moral implications of design, describing the purpose, not the design as good. Earlier in his introduction to the volume on house construction, he made his point even more

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<sup>14</sup> Muthesius, *Style-Architecture and Building-Art*, 79.

<sup>15</sup> Schultze-Naumburg, *Kulturarbeiten*, Band I: Hausbau, 4. “Ich glaube, all unser Menschenwerk wäre schön....wenn als oberstes Arbeitsgesetz immer allein gegolten hätte: nur das zu bilden, was einem guten Zweck dient, dabei aber diesen Zweck stets auf die einfachste und vollkommenste Weise in seiner Erscheinung auszudrücken.”

<sup>16</sup> Muthesius, *Style-Architecture and Building-Art*, 80.

clearly, stating that a well-designed object could “make visible the harmony of an ethical worldview if the function that the object expressed was itself ethical.”<sup>17</sup>

Hans Kampffmeyer’s ideas concerning functional design echoed those of Muthesius and Schultze-Naumburg. Repeatedly, Kampffmeyer intoned the importance of *Zweckmässigkeit* (utility or fitness of purpose) for designs ranging from city plans to the smallest items in a worker’s house.<sup>18</sup> In an article entitled “Die kulturelle Bedeutung der Gartenstadtbewegung” (The Cultural Meaning of the Garden City Movement), which was an excerpt from Kampffmeyer’s popular book on the movement, the author spoke of the need for functional interiors to match the functional exteriors of working-class housing:

Then it will be relatively easy to convince the inhabitant that only simple unadorned furnishings – not the ornament-overladen Bazaar furniture – go with the really purposeful arrangement of his little house.<sup>19</sup>

In other words, objects would be beautiful and appropriate for their surroundings if designers eschewed decoration and rigorously sought to fulfill all functional requirements. Again following in Muthesius’s footsteps, Kampffmeyer also acknowledged the beauty of industrial forms normally considered to be outside the purview of art: “A smokestack, a machine hall or

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<sup>17</sup> Schultze-Naumburg, *Kulturarbeiten, Band I: Hausbau*, 3. “Nur, wenn es in vollkommenster Weise seinem Zwecke dient und sich diese Vollkommenheit auch in seiner äusseren Form ausdrückt. Und ist der Zweck selbst ein ethischer, so wird das einzelne die Harmonie eines ethischen Weltbildes zur Anschauung bringen.”

<sup>18</sup> “Fitness of purpose” does not adequately capture the meaning of the word, however, just as “objectivity” does not capture the full meaning of *Sachlichkeit*. When an architect described a building as *Zweckmässig*, he implied that the building fulfilled its purpose, its functional requirements, with no excess flourishes. The related term of *Sachlichkeit* is derived from the German word for thing. When an object such as a chair is *sachlich*, it embodies the “thingness,” the very essence of a chair. *Zweckmässigkeit* and *Sachlichkeit* went hand in hand for these designers. For a nuanced discussion of these concepts, see Rosemarie Haag Bletter’s introduction to Adolf Behne’s *The Modern Functional Building*, trans. Michael Robinson (Santa Monica: The Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1996).

<sup>19</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, “Die kulturelle Bedeutung der Gartenstadtbewegung,” 56. “Denn es wird verhältnismäßig leicht sein, den Bewohner davon zu überzeugen, daß zu der wirklich zweckmäßigen Gestaltung seines Häuschens nicht die ornamentüberladenen Basarmöbel sondern nur ein schlichtes Hausgerät paßt.”

the arch of a bridge can be very beautiful, if the purpose (*Zweckidee*) of the form is completely expressed.”<sup>20</sup> In one short statement, Kampffmeyer aligned himself with the modernist impulse and complicated the picture of the garden city movement painted by historians such as Klaus Bergmann who viewed it as essentially hostile to the metropolis and by extension to the industrialism that had necessitated the creation of large urban centers. In fact, the DGG embraced not only the physical forms of industry but also the time- and labor-saving benefits of the machine, particularly for industry and agriculture.

Kampffmeyer edited the publications of the DGG during the crucial early years of the movement and exerted great control over the aesthetic viewpoints expressed in its propaganda. He was not the only member of the DGG to espouse these views, however. Richard Riemerschmid expressed similar sentiments concerning the desired origin of architectural forms in an article on “Das Arbeiterwohnhaus” (The Worker’s Dwelling). In that article, which was published in the 1906 issue of *Hohe Warte* devoted to garden cities, Riemerschmid spoke of the charming effects that could be achieved through the “natural, unaffected and honest treatment of materials,” along with the “clearest organization of parts.”<sup>21</sup> He believed that forms would grow out of the requirements of the objects themselves only if people who truly understood materials and techniques created those objects. He captured the views of many garden city architects when he exclaimed:

If only we could understand how to make our young folk into capable people, who know their handicrafts and their materials thoroughly...! Such capable people would once again consider the object, cleverly and sensitively designed,

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<sup>20</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, *Gartenstadt und ästhetische Kultur*, 12. “Ein Schornstein, eine Maschinenhalle oder ein Brückenbogen kann sehr schön sein, wenn die Zweckidee in der Form restlos zum Ausdruck kommt.”

<sup>21</sup> R. Riemerschmid, “Das Arbeiterwohnhaus,” 137. “...wenigstens alle die Reize abgewinnt, die sie schon in sich bergen, die in der natürlichen, ungekünstelten, ehrlichen Behandlung des Materials und in der zweckmäßigsten, klarsten Anordnung der Teile liegen.”



and allow the form to grow out of the thing itself, rather than mixing unrelated forms together.<sup>22</sup>

Despite consensus regarding *Zweckmässigkeit* (fitness of purpose), *Sachlichkeit* (objectivity), *Schlichtheit* (simplicity), and *Einheit* (unity), no easy formula existed to guide garden city architects in their endeavors. The principles of the modern movement had not yet been codified, and new materials, like steel, had yet to make their way into residential architecture. Art Nouveau, the only coherent movement in recent memory, appeared to many critics as a dead end notwithstanding the undisputed originality of its forms; critics viewed it as the newest incarnation of the empty focus on superficial style that had characterized the late-nineteenth century. What Muthesius and Schultze-Naumburg – and the authors who echoed their ideas in *Gartenstadt* – offered to their contemporaries was a process rather than a rigid prescription, a way of thinking about artistic production that might lead to satisfactory new buildings.

Neither man suggested that architects start from scratch. Instead, they advised their peers to look to recent traditions that possessed artistic unity and could provide a starting point for experiments meant to develop a coherent contemporary architecture. Both Muthesius and Schultze-Naumburg emphasized two sources of inspiration in their writings, namely the period around 1800, referred to variously as *um 1800* or the Biedermeier era, and vernacular architecture.<sup>23</sup> They viewed the neo-classical architecture of the late eighteenth century as

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 138-139. “Würden wir verstehen, unsere jungen Leute zu tüchtigen Menschen zu machen, die dazu noch ihre Handwerk und ihr Material gründlich kennen, ganz vertraut mit ihm sind! Solche tüchtigen Menschen würden wieder die Sache selber ins Auge fassen, klug und feinfühlig gestalten, statt fremde Formen herzutragen und zusammenzustümpfern, aus der Sache selber die Form herauswachsen lassen.”

<sup>23</sup> The interpretation of the relationship of history to contemporary design would eventually drive a wedge between the ideas of the two men as the century progressed. Muthesius emphasized the need for modern forms to meet modern conditions whereas Schultze-Naumburg emphasized tradition. They disagreed over whether the house and the German way of living had changed enough to require new forms. Schultze-Naumburg did not think so, despite

possessing the simplicity of design and attention to function that they admired. They also considered this period to constitute the last era of artistic unity in Germany, before the onset of industrialization and the concomitant decline in artistic production. Muthesius eschewed the classicism of the Renaissance because it was not indigenous to Germany and because it fractured the artistic unity of the Middle Ages by privileging the taste of the wealthy and well-educated. In contrast, he praised the classicism of the late eighteenth century, which he described as combining antique and Germanic influences into an original production. Even more importantly, he believed that the period had called forth the emergence of a middle-class art based upon the principle of *Sachlichkeit*.<sup>24</sup>

Like Muthesius, Schultze-Naumburg viewed the architecture of the period around 1800 as the child resulting from the “marriage of the Nordic spirit (*Geist*) and the antique.”<sup>25</sup> In other words, the German people had made classicism their own by adapting it to their cultural requirements, thereby relieving it of any foreign associations that would have rendered the architecture inappropriate as a model for the leader of the *Heimatschutz* movement. The core

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his embrace of new technologies and hygienic measures, and many of Schultze-Naumburg’s domestic buildings looked very much the same as the architecture of *um 1800* that he espoused as the starting point for twentieth-century design. These buildings maintained a classical sense of proportion and symmetry, despite the more individualized rooms behind the façade. In other words, Schultze-Naumburg did not allow the plan to drive the form of the house as a whole. Muthesius found this approach disingenuous and leveled severe criticism at Schultze-Naumburg in the second edition of *Landhaus und Garten* (1910). He pointed out that the plans of contemporary middle-class houses no longer looked like their predecessors – new functions made that impossible. He argued, therefore, that the exterior of the houses should change to reflect that internal change [Norbert Borrmann, *Paul Schultze-Naumburg 1869-1949: Maler, Publizist, Architect: Vom Kulturreformer der Jahrhundertwende zum Kulturpolitiker in Dritten Reich* (Essen: Verlag Richard Bacht, 1989), 73-74]. As modernism surged ahead, Schultze-Naumburg’s designs began to look more and more antiquated. His ideas lost the patina of reform that they had at the beginning of the century when the majority of the building activity in the garden cities took place. Tessenow, for example, drew inspiration from Schultze-Naumburg’s written work but expressed frustration with his built work; Tessenow felt it looked to the past too much. This frustration eventually drove the younger man to leave Schultze-Naumburg’s employ in 1905 after approximately a year at the Saalecker Werkstätten [Gerda Wangerin and Gerhard Weiss, *Heinrich Tessenow: ein Baumeister 1876, 1950: Leben, Lehre, Werk* (Essen: Verlag Richard Bacht, 1976), 23].

<sup>24</sup> Hermann Muthesius, *Style-Architecture and Building-Art*, 50-53.

<sup>25</sup> Schultze-Naumburg, *Kulturarbeiten, Band I: Hausbau*, 29.

values of the *Heimatschutz* movement can be summed up in the following statement by Schultze-Naumburg concerning the buildings of which he approved:

They adapt themselves admirably to the conditions of the homeland, perpetuate the old traditions and offer an array of new forms, in which the old tradition is developed further in accordance with modern conditions.<sup>26</sup>

Throughout the multiple volumes of *Kulturarbeiten*, Schultze-Naumburg emphasized both continuity with tradition and awareness of local conditions. He believed that architects should take into account the climate and surrounding landscape in addition to local building traditions. For these reasons, he considered vernacular architecture, especially the traditional *Bauernhaus* or farmhouse, as worthy of emulation by modern architects.<sup>27</sup> Muthesius also praised the German farmhouse as a “simple middle-class building art,” which satisfied “simple everyday problems.”<sup>28</sup> Like many of the modernists who would follow, both men viewed vernacular architecture as entirely *sachlich*, the result of refinement over centuries.<sup>29</sup> A farmhouse was, therefore, not simply a farmhouse but the representative of a type, a building adapted so thoroughly to specific needs and conditions that everything extraneous had been eliminated from its design.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 118. “Sie passen sich vortrefflich den heimatlichen Bedingungen an, führen die alte Tradition weiter und bieten dabei doch eine Reihe von neuen Formen, in denen die alte Tradition den modernen Bedingungen gemäss weiterentwickelt ist.”

<sup>27</sup> Borrmann, 29.

<sup>28</sup> Hermann Muthesius, *Style-Architecture and Building-Art*, 75.

<sup>29</sup> Marcel Breuer’s views could stand in for those of numerous modernists regarding the connection between the vernacular and the Modern. In a 1934 lecture to the Swiss Werkbund entitled “Where do we stand?” Marcel Breuer stated: “...these two diametrically opposed tendencies have two characteristics in common: the impersonal character of their forms; and a tendency to develop along typical, rational lines that are unaffected by passing fashions” [Christopher Wilk, *Marcel Breuer: Furniture and Interiors* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1981), 108].

<sup>30</sup> Both Muthesius and Schultze-Naumburg viewed the English house as a potential model for German developments. Muthesius defended it as part of a Nordic heritage common to the two countries whereas Schultze-

Not surprisingly, Kampffmeyer expressed approbation for the vernacular and the era around the year 1800 in propaganda for the DGG. In “Gartenstadt und Ästhetische Kultur,” he spoke of an old tradition of handicraft in which the workers were intimately connected with the soil and with local artistic traditions.<sup>31</sup> This sentiment corresponded very closely with Schultze-Naumburg’s ideas concerning the need for a redevelopment of handicraft traditions and his emphasis on local context. Likewise, Kampffmeyer’s suggested sources of inspiration for architects of the garden cities could be drawn from the pages of *Kulturarbeiten*:

Through the unpaid artistic advice of the building commission and through model urban buildings one is inspired to build the German middle-class and rural dwelling as it had organically developed up to the beginning of the nineteenth century but adapted to our contemporary needs. In particular, one can easily connect with the style that is customary in the area around the garden city.<sup>32</sup>

Muthesius and Schultze-Naumburg’s ideas represent some of the most important trends within early twentieth-century architecture, but they were not the only architects or critics to influence the design of garden cities. Theodor Fischer, arguably one of the most influential architectural educators of the early twentieth century, espoused a pragmatism that resonated with the members of the DGG. He had an indirect influence on the movement because he taught or employed the best architects of the next generation of both traditional and modernist persuasions,

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Naumburg saw the English house as a good example of a “national house” and hoped the Germans could develop a similarly appropriate German domestic architecture.

<sup>31</sup> Kampffmeyer, “Gartenstadt und ästhetische Kultur,” 6.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 11-12. “Durch unentgeltlichen künstlerischen Rat der Baukommission und durch städtische Musterbauten könnte man auch dazu anregen, das deutsche bürgerliche und bäuerliche Wohnhaus, wie es sich bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts organisch entwickelt hat, unter Anpassung an unsere neuzeitlichen Bedürfnisse weiterzubilden. Im Sonderheit könnte man an den Stil, wie er in der Umgegend der Gartenstadt üblich ist, frei anknüpfen.” He also praised the houses of Bourneville and Port Sunlight as essentially being a further development of the old farmhouse, whose “simple *sachlich* forms suited both the existing older architecture and the landscape” [Hans Kampffmeyer, “Gartenstadt und Gartenkunst” in *Gartenkunstbestrebungen auf sozialem Gebiete: Drei Vortraege gehalten auf der Hauptversammlung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Gartenkunst in Nuernberg, 18-23 August 1906* (Würzburg: Stürtz, 1907), 19-22].

including Bruno Taut, Ernst May and Paul Bonatz. Taut would go on to design two garden cities, and he and May would design Weimar-era housing settlements influenced by Theodor Fischer's work and the garden city movement. Fischer also served on the board of the Deutsche Bund Heimatschutz and as the first chairman of the Deutsche Werkbund, providing further proof that support for the traditional and the modern were not mutually exclusive in the eyes of these reformers.<sup>33</sup> Like Schultze-Naumburg and the Austrian Camillo Sitte, he advocated adapting designs to local particularities, both in terms of the natural landscape and the manmade.<sup>34</sup> He advised his pupils to respect local building traditions and frequently discussed a concept he referred to as "geometric rhythm," a flexible system for designing façades and plans that avoided rigid symmetry of the constituent parts while maintaining an overall sense of proportion.<sup>35</sup> Taken together, these principles could be the guiding design tenets of the garden city movement. Fischer also designed Gmindersdorf, a colony of workers' housing built for the factory owner Ulrich Gminder outside Reutlingen. Kampffmeyer repeatedly held up Gmindersdorf as a model for the planning and architecture of garden cities, along with Robert Schmohl's houses for the Krupp Firma and English models such as Letchworth, Port Sunlight and Bournville.<sup>36</sup> Fischer's reliance on local materials and traditions at Gmindersdorf and his insistence on the appropriateness of the German farmhouse as a model for workers' housing certainly inspired many of the garden city architects (Figures 65-66), although they would build greater numbers of row houses than Fischer did and largely avoided the asymmetry and more elaborate decoration

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<sup>33</sup> Nerdinger, *Theodor Fischer: Architekt und Städtebauer*, 7, 62.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, 9 and 66.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, 96.

<sup>36</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, "Gartenstadt und Baukunst," *Moderne Bauformen* 7, no. 3 (1908): 89-90.



Figures 65 and 66. Theodor Fischer, house type 5 (top) and row house (bottom), Gmindersdorf.



that graced many of his houses.<sup>37</sup> Fischer also had a direct effect on the appearance of Gartenstadt Hellerau through his service on the artistic advisory board and the houses he built in the villa quarter.

Other architects, including Richard Riemerschmid, Georg Metzendorf, Heinrich Tessenow and Bruno Taut, were also highly influential, helping define the look of the German garden city movement for the general public and for their peers. The DGG reported on the architectural efforts of all of these men but singled out Tessenow's built and written work for special attention. Kampffmeyer wrote a glowing review of Tessenow's *Der Wohnhausbau* (House Building) in the January 1910 issue of *Gartenstadt*. He enthusiastically praised not only Tessenow's book but also the very fact that one of the country's most competent architects had addressed the problem of the small dwelling.<sup>38</sup> That same issue of the DGG's magazine contained an excerpt from *Der Wohnhausbau* in which Tessenow presented the ideal way to approach each of the rooms in a small dwelling, emphasizing simplicity, practicality and the rational organization of the limited space available in a worker's apartment.

The buildings and writings of these men did not present a fundamental divergence from the basic ideas expressed by Muthesius and Schultze-Naumburg, and one or both of their favored models – the *um 1800* classicism and the local vernacular – were utilized in every German garden city prior to the first World War. The style of architecture was often tied to the style of planning, with the vernacular style used in areas of garden cities with curving streets and a classical idiom utilized for geometric plans or portions of plans. As most of the picturesque

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<sup>37</sup> Theodor Fischer, "Gmindersdorf: Arbeiterkolonie von Ulrich Gminder G.m.b.H. in Reutlingen," 313.

<sup>38</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, "Bucher, »Der Wohnhausbau«,," *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 1 (January 1910): 9. Tessenow called for pure *Sachlichkeit* and suggested that architects should forget about consciously creating art and focus on the satisfaction of practical needs as currently not even those basic needs were being addressed (*Der Wohnhausbau*, 2). His ideas certainly resonated with those put forth by Muthesius.

plans date to the earliest years of the garden city movement, it is not surprising that buildings inspired by the vernacular appear most prominently at the first garden cities to be built, Hellerau, Stockfeld and Margarethenhöhe (Figures 67-69).<sup>39</sup>

Many of the garden city architects embraced the *Heimatschutz* principle of fitness for place, considering a complex array of factors such as the local terrain and building traditions in planning the garden cities. Since no exact prescription existed, however, architects could justify the use of similar architectural and urban planning features for very different locations.

Riemerschmid's plan for Hellerau and Metzendorf's for Margarethenhöhe responded to the hilly sites on which the garden cities were built, and the complex roof lines of the vernacularly inspired buildings resonated with the constantly shifting visual experience of the curved streets. At Gartenstadt Nürnberg, on the other hand, Riemerschmid used curving streets and vernacular architecture, along with the placement of buildings at various angles to the street, to mimic the perspectival complexity of the organically developed medieval city in a manner that would otherwise have been impossible on the utterly flat terrain on which the garden city was built. The architects of Gartenstadt Stockfeld utilized a similar approach as the overlapping array of rooflines in Figure 69 clearly shows.<sup>40</sup>

The designers of the garden cities located outside Karlsruhe and Mannheim, on the other hand, embraced the strong neo-classical traditions of their region, relying heavily on motifs associated with *um 1800* classicism and taking advantage of available flat land to create more axial and geometric plans. Karlsruhe also possessed a strong contemporary neo-classical school,

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<sup>39</sup> Stockfeld's original plan was quite axial (see Figure 40). The central axial streets were built as shown, but the streets branching off that central motif wound in the picturesque style, although the curves were unrelated to any change in elevation or grade.

<sup>40</sup> Essen, Strasbourg and Nürnberg possessed extant medieval city centers, and it is not surprising that the organizers of the garden cities and the architects might find inspiration there. While Dresden was most associated with the Baroque architecture of the Zwinger Palace and Semper Opera House, the hilly site and Richard Riemerschmid's aesthetic proclivities precluded the use of classical planning and architecture for the residential portion of the plan.





Figure 67. Richard Riemerschmid, row houses, Im Grünen Zipfel, Gartenstadt Hellerau, ca. 1909.



Figure 68. Georg Metzendorf, houses along Steile Straße, Margarethenhöhe, ca. 1909.



Figure 69. Rue du Stockfeld, Gartenstadt Stockfeld, ca. 1911. The architect mimicked the overlapping rooflines of medieval cities by placing the buildings at different angles to the street.

headed by Friedrich Ostendorf, which may further help to explain the emphasis on classical forms in the associated garden city.<sup>41</sup> In his teaching and his unfinished masterwork, *Sects Bücher vom Bauen* (*Six Books of Building*), Ostendorf advocated a simple, symmetrical classicism influenced by that of Friedrich Weinbrenner's contribution to the Karlsruhe city center in the opening decades of the nineteenth century. Ostendorf reworked portions of Kampffmeyer and Kohler's original plan for the garden city and designed a number of buildings that embody the simple classicism he espoused, the most prominent of which surrounded the

<sup>41</sup> Nerdinger, *Theodor Fischer: Architekt und Städtebauer*, 89. Winfried Nerdinger described Ostendorf's school, which focused on the classical as a universally applicable paradigm, as the counterweight to Fischer's school with its emphasis on the pragmatic adaption of local building traditions.

entrance plaza (Figure 100).<sup>42</sup> His residences relied on symmetry and proportion rather than on traditional markers of the classical style, such as columns, pediments or elaborate moldings. Many of the other architects at Karlsruhe adopted a similar approach, as demonstrated by the multi-family house shown in Figure 71. Ostendorf's aesthetic preferences influenced the look of the garden city long after he died in the First World War, and the community would eventually honor him by naming the entrance plaza Ostendorfplatz.

Although either the Heimatschutz or the *um 1800* style might predominate in a garden city, many contained examples of both. The somewhat varied building stock of many garden cities resulted from the use of different architects and the necessity for multiple, distinct phases of construction. Gartenstadt Staaken, designed by Paul Schmitthenner in 1914 for a flat area to the northwest of Berlin, represents an anomaly in that Schmitthenner intended the use of multiple styles from the beginning of the endeavor, prompting criticism that he had reverted to the historical eclecticism abhorred by Muthesius and Schultze-Naumburg. Schmitthenner utilized vernacular designs for the residential streets that wind away from the central traffic spine of the settlement (Figure 72), while lining that spine and the street leading to the market place with classically-inspired buildings whose entrances are flanked by Doric columns (Figure 73). Schmitthenner then executed the market buildings entirely in brick with prominent Dutch gables (Figure 101), perhaps taking his cue from the mid-eighteenth-century row houses in the Dutch quarter of nearby Potsdam. He also used the Dutch gable for stucco residential buildings near the market square.

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<sup>42</sup> *Festschrift zum 75-jährigen Bestehen der Gartenstadt Karlsruhe e. G.*, 26. Im Grün, Blütenweg and parts of Heckenweg and Resedenweg were built according to Kampffmeyer and Kohler's original plan. Ostendorf reworked A sternweg, Staudenweg, part of Rosenweg and the entrance plaza. The names of these streets intentionally referenced flowers and other greenery.



Figure 70. Esch & Anke, row houses, Heidestraße, Gartenstadt Mannheim, ca. 1912.



Figure 71. Multi-family house, Resedenweg, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe.

Schmitthenner initially resisted the trend toward increased simplification that had already occurred in many other garden cities.<sup>43</sup> If not for the outbreak of war, he might have continued to do so. In general, however, the earliest buildings associated with the movement were more elaborate than later examples in terms of roof shape and the number and complexity of projections from the façade. Limited economic resources combined with the development of the modern style to encourage a move toward simpler row houses such as those designed by Taut for Gartenstadt Falkenberg or Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform (Figure 74 and 93). This trend occurred in most garden cities as the organizers and architects realized the need for streamlined construction and greater standardization in order to optimize their limited financial resources.

While the houses became even more simple as the century progressed, many garden city architects created substantially simplified, even abstracted, versions of both the vernacular and the *um 1800* styles from the very beginning of the movement. Barbara Miller Lane classified architecture such as this as “a radical transformation of nineteenth-century historicism, rather than a rejection of it.”<sup>44</sup> However, she also believed that this step was necessary in order to produce something even more transformative: buildings such as Paul Bonatz’s railroad station in Stuttgart or Taut’s or Tessenow’s workers’ housing, in which almost all reference to historical antecedents had been omitted.<sup>45</sup> In turn, she drew a direct line from these projects with their smooth, cubic volumes to later modernist masterpieces, like Walter Gropius’s Bauhaus or the numerous *Siedlungen* constructed by municipal governments during the 1920s. Following in the

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<sup>43</sup> In assessing the two garden cities designed by Georg Metzendorf, for example, Otto Schneider stated that at Hüttenau, the later of the two projects, Metzendorf had learned to “temper the lively fantasy” that marked his efforts at Margarethenhöhe. In 1914, the earlier project, designed only five years before, was now considered too “romantic.” Schneider’s analysis reveals the direction of contemporary aesthetic preferences towards simpler forms [Otto Albert Schneider, “Die Gartenstadt Hüttenau und andere Wohnbauten von Architekt Professor Georg Metzendorf, Essen,” *Moderne Bauformen* (1 April 1914): 161].

<sup>44</sup> Barbara Miller Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918-1945*, 13.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, 15-17.



Figure 72. Paul Schmitthenner, row houses, Am Krumpfen Weg, Gartenstadt Staaken, ca. 1914.



Figure 73. Paul Schmitthenner, apartment buildings, Am Heideberg, Gartenstadt Staaken, ca. 1914.



Figure 74. Bruno Taut, row houses, Brenneckestraße, Gartenstadt Kolonie-Reform outside Magdeburg, ca. 1923.



Figure 75. Row houses, Heckenweg, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, ca. 1913.

footsteps of the architects themselves, she associated modernist architecture with the socialist politics of the Weimar era. Like the later modernist housing settlements, much of the garden city architecture possessed simple, geometric, undecorated stucco forms. And like those later modernist settlements, the architects addressed issues such as standardization, color and rhythm. The aesthetic and political motivations of the architects involved in the movement are not so easily categorized, however. It is often hard to say whether the simplicity of the buildings was precipitated by economic necessity, by ideas concerning the inappropriateness of excess decoration on humble workers' residences, by a desire to create a modern style or by some combination of these three impulses. For this reason, viewing garden city architecture, even that of Taut and Tessenow, as simply a step in an inevitable, teleological progression towards the International Style precludes other more illuminating methods of analysis. Careful study of these buildings reveals much about their contemporary context: namely the widely varied conceptions of what constituted an appropriate architecture for the modern, industrial age; the deep-seated desire to make good design accessible to the masses; the attempt to create an architecture that was both wholly modern and wholly German; and the complicated relationship of architectural style to political ideology before World War I.

The architecture of the pre-war period was notable for its varied combinations of the traditional and modern, both in terms of form and construction. Twenty-first-century viewers often find it difficult to see beyond the traditional rooflines and materials of the garden city architecture, especially given the seemingly ahistorical forms that followed in the housing estates of the 1920s. Comparisons with the Weissenhof Estate or Ernst May's housing developments outside Frankfurt lead to anachronistic evaluations of the architecture of the garden cities, however. More apt and enlightening comparisons would be with the contemporaneous buildings



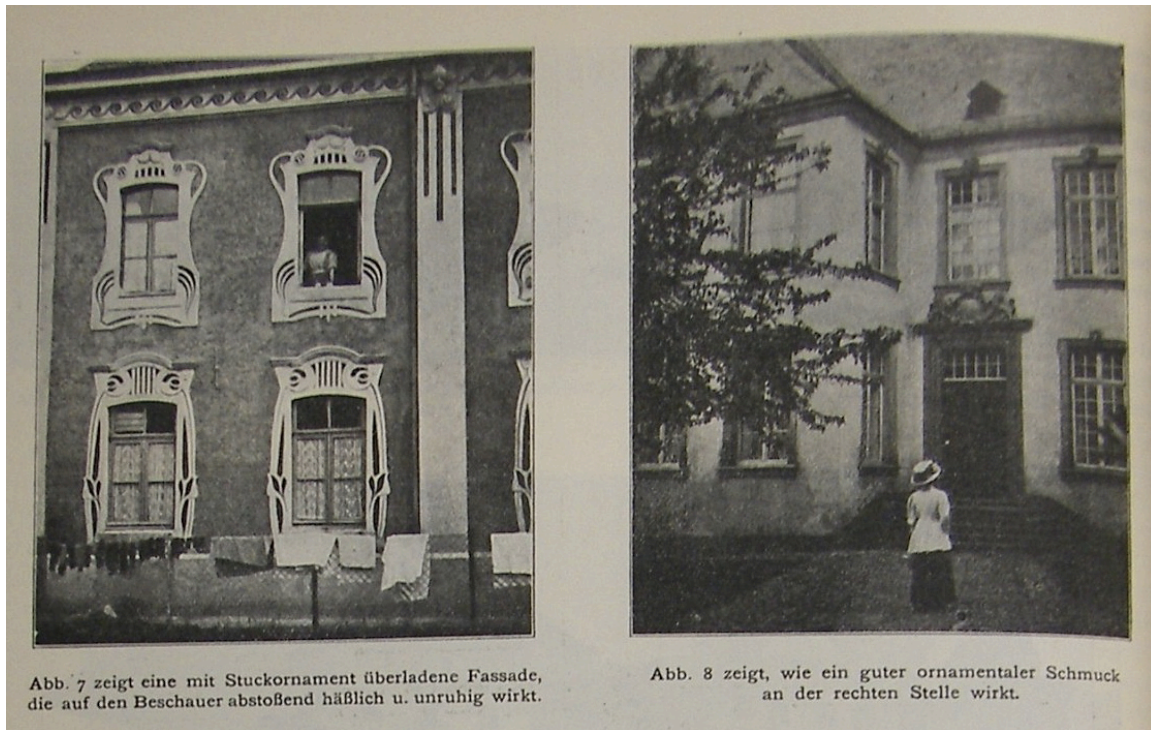


Figure 76. Pair of contrasting façades published in the January 1910 edition of *Gartenstadt*. The editors borrowed the technique of contrasting images from Schultze-Naumburg, and, like Schultze-Naumburg, they preferred the simpler façade.

against which the garden city architects reacted. Next to the historicist apartment houses made to look like Renaissance palaces or Gothic fortresses or the studied whimsy of Art Nouveau creations, the stripped-down classicism and simplified vernacular of the garden cities must have looked downright revolutionary.

A single set of images from *Gartenstadt* illustrates this point quite clearly (Figure 76). The photos barely require the clarification provided by the captions, which refer to the unpleasant effect of the façade overwhelmed by the swirling, *Jugendstil* ornament of the left image and to the beneficial effects of well-placed ornament on the right. The restrained praise for the preferred building concealed a host of implied debates that the educated reader would have understood. The editors attacked the *Jugendstil* decoration for its irrational exuberance and

its complete disregard for the constructive principles of the building. Both buildings were comprised of simple geometrical volumes, but only the minimal, vaguely classical lintels of the building on the right acknowledged that fact, creating a unity between the decoration and the structure of the building itself. The single instance of decorative effusion, the garland over the door, was acceptable due to its relative containment and the emphasis it provided for the entrance portal, which otherwise blended into the grid pattern of the fenestration.

Like the buildings in this pair of contrasting images, even the most elaborate row houses of the garden city consisted of simple, rectangular volumes. Although the architects occasionally enlivened the otherwise flat expanses presented to the street with a pergola, porch or dormer window or added a utility room at the back of the house, these additions did not substantially change the basic volume of the buildings. Even Riemerschmid's row houses, whose façades followed the curves of *Am grünen Zipfel* in Hellerau (Figure 26), or those designed by Esche & Anke for the elliptical Westring of Gartenstadt Mannheim (Figure 38) possessed the same basic plan and rectangular volume.

The dimensions of the plan might vary slightly from one garden city to the next, depending upon the amount of money and the size of the plots available, but the plans of the row houses offered little to challenge the creativity of the architects who designed them. The plans constituted an *Existenzminimum* long before that term came into vogue, as any significant increase in the volumetric complexity of the house resulted in increased labor costs and a consequent reduction of the number of houses that the garden city could build. The bottom floor of the row house inevitably consisted of a kitchen, usually at the back of the house overlooking the garden, and a living room (*Wohnzimmer*) facing the street. Depending upon the amount of space available, the stairs to the upper floor were either placed in a narrow hallway or ascended

directly from one of the two rooms on the ground floor (Figure 77-78). Some of the row houses also had cellar or attic workspaces available.

Despite the apparent lack of room for creativity in the ground plan of the row houses, the garden city architects did take a stand on one contemporary debate regarding the size and function of the kitchen. They gravitated toward the provision of *Wohnküchen*, generous kitchen areas that included living space for the family, rather than the *Kochküchen*, small servant spaces meant only for the preparation of food. The architects who addressed this topic in the pages of *Gartenstadt* offered an array of reasons, ranging from the purely practical to the ardently feminist for this preference. Most pointed out that the workers would use the kitchen as a living space no matter how small a room was provided.<sup>46</sup> It stood to reason, then, that the kitchen should be a fairly commodious room. If necessary, the *Wohnküche* could replace the *Gute Stube* or sitting room which most architects of the movement viewed as wasted space, hardly used by the family except to store exactly the kind of poorly constructed, overly ornamented furniture despised by the DGG yet prized by many uneducated workers as proof of status.<sup>47</sup> While they worried about the illness-causing dampness and lingering smells generated by cooking and cleaning, the architects believed that proper ventilation and arrangement of the space – by which they meant the physical separation of cooking and living areas within the *Wohnküche* – along with the removal of the messiest tasks to a *Spülküche* or scullery, could prevent the most deleterious effects of moisture and odor. Others defended the inclusion of a *Wohnküche* on ideological grounds, either as a return to the “age-old Germanic custom” of cooking in the main

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<sup>46</sup> “Die Gartensiedlung des Volks-Bau- und Sparvereins Frankfurt a.M.,” *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 5 (May 1910): 54 and Alwin Rudolph, “Wohnküche oder Wohnstube und Küche,” *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 9 (September 1911): 112.

<sup>47</sup> The decision to include a *Wohnküche* was not a paternalistic imposition of middle-class values. Many garden city architects took local preferences into account. Gartenstadt Hellerau, for example, polled future inhabitants concerning their preferred type of kitchen. Approximately twice as many requested a *Wohnküche* (see Appendix B) [Beilage No. 5 to a letter from Otto Geihlsler to Richard Riemerschmid, 3 December 1906, Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid I, B-140, Germanisches Nationalmuseum].

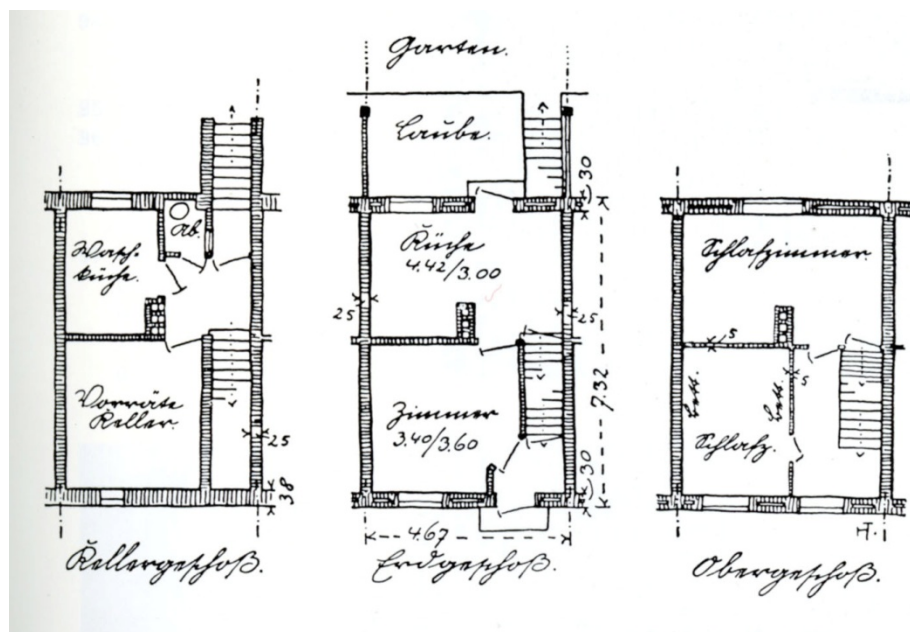


Figure 77. Heinrich Tessenow, Am Schanckenberg Nr. 1-15, Gartenstadt Hellerau, 1910. From left to right, the cellar, ground floor and second floor plans of the row houses.

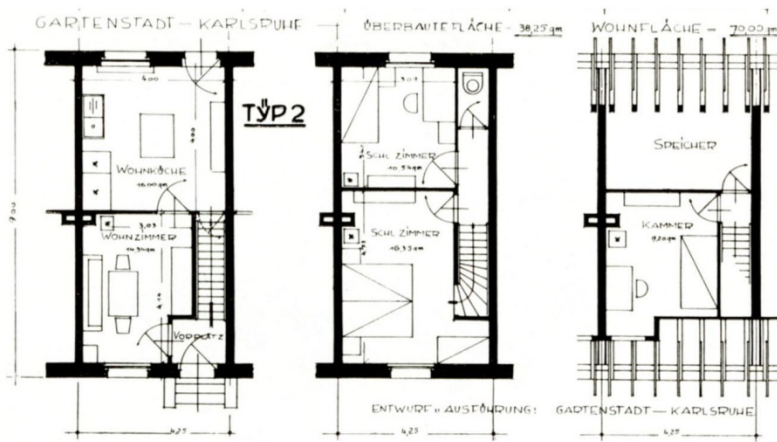


Figure 78. House Type 3, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe. From left to right, the ground floor, second floor and attic level plans. The *Wohnküche* is located at the back of the house on the ground floor.

living space of the dwelling or as the elevation of the housewife's workspace to the epicenter of the house, reflecting her role as the heart of the family.<sup>48</sup> Dr. Julie Kassowitz expressed the latter view in the pages of *Aus englischen Gartenstädte*, and, while her argument might not seem feminist by today's standards, she advocated respect for work traditionally done by women and for the importance of women within the family.

The limited resources available for the construction of houses forced the garden city architects to be economical in terms of the plans. Economy, combined with a desire for a unified approach to structure and decoration, also led the architects to create very simple façades. As most applied decoration was anathema to them, the very elements of structure and construction such as the shape of the roof, the pattern of fenestration or the choice of materials remained the only viable ways to avoid the monotony of much workers' housing or to mark the building as an outgrowth of the vernacular or *um 1800* classicism.<sup>49</sup>

The shape of the roof in particular revealed the stylistic alignment of the building and the sometimes uneasy truce between traditional and modernist tendencies that defined the architecture of the garden cities. The vernacularly-inspired buildings usually possessed more complex roof shapes and prominent dormers that added to the volumetric complexity of the roofline, especially during the early years of the movement. Despite the intense interest in the *Heimatschutz*, however, the architects did not simply recreate the local vernacular. The leader of the garden city organization for Hamburg-Wandsbek expressed the conflicting interest in both regional and national influences when he stated:

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<sup>48</sup> H. Wagner, "Was können wir von dem Englischen Kleinhausbau lernen?" and Dr. Julie Kassowitz, "Die Frau und die Gartenstadt?" in *Aus englischen Gartenstädten*, 28 and 66.

<sup>49</sup> There would appear to be a tension between the universalizing tendencies of classicism and the emphasis on Germanic style. While I do not have the views of the architects on this particular topic, it seems to me that they largely resolved this issue by utilizing a form of classicism – the *um 1800* style – which had been Germanicized. In addition, the garden cities that relied most heavily on the classical idiom were located in areas that possessed strong classical traditions; they could point to nearby German examples of the style.

As architectural style, we adopted the Lower Saxon (*niedersächsische*) form, which is adapted to our flat surroundings. The great, red, beautiful German roof!<sup>50</sup>

Many architects did utilize local materials or features of local building styles, but it was also true that a few rooflines became shorthand for a national vernacular, something recognizably German but not bound to any specific region within the country.

Abstraction became one tool for creating this national vernacular. In a speech given to the fourteenth congress of the Centralstelle für Arbeiter-Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen (Central Office for Workers' Social Services), Karl Henrici referred to the rectangular base and gabled roof as the “elementary form” of the small house.<sup>51</sup> Not surprisingly, many architects utilized the simple, triangular gable roof whose ends flared slightly upwards. They achieved greatly varied effects with this universal form, however, through their choice of material and the treatment of the exposed façade within the gable. At Margarethenhöhe, for example, Georg Metzendorf covered the triangular space underneath the eaves in two levels of dark shingles, borrowing from local building styles (Figure 68).<sup>52</sup> Heinrich Tessenow, on the other hand, often removed all specific associations from his houses. He did this by flattening the façade of the building, decreasing the overhang of the eaves until they were almost flush with the wall underneath and

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<sup>50</sup> Hermann Frank, “Aus der Gartenstadtätigkeit,” *Gartenstadt*, 5, no. 12 (May 1911): 172. “Als Stilart nahmen wir die niedersächsische Form, die in unsere flache Gegend hineinpaßt. Das große, rote, schöne deutsche Dach!”

<sup>51</sup> Karl Henrici, “Arbeiterkolonien,” in *Die künstlerische Gestaltung des Arbeiter-Wohnhauses*. Schriften der Centralstelle für Arbeiter-Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen 29. (Berlin: Carl Heymanns Verlag, 1906), 65. “Auch aus ökonomischen Rücksichten empfiehlt es sich, für solche kleinen Hauseinheiten die elementarsten Gesamtformen, nämlich den geschlossenen viereckigen Unterbau mit einfachem Satteldach in Anwendung zu bringen.” Many of the most important influences on the garden city movement spoke at the meeting including Hermann Muthesius, Paul Schultze-Naumburg and Richard Riemerschmid.

<sup>52</sup> Rainer Metzendorf, *Georg Metzendorf 1874-1934*, 66. Rainer Metzendorf asserts that Georg Metzendorf initially relied on the *bergische* building tradition. The Bergisches Land is a specific region within Rhineland-Westphalia. Likewise, Peter Kallen in his essay for *The westdeutsche Impuls 1900-1914* specifically refers to the houses on Steile Straße as a simplified version of the traditional *rheinisch-westfälisch* building style [65].

then finishing that wall in stucco or in vertical siding which, while echoing vernacular traditions, made them more abstract and emphasized the primal geometry of the roof (Figure 80). Filling the triangular gable of the roof with shingles or siding also increased the visual weight of the roof within the overall composition, further linking these houses to the vernacular tradition. The roof dominated the structure of farmhouses across Germany, and many garden city architects used roofs that almost entirely enclosed the second story of the building to emphasize the more rural nature of their settlements in comparison to workers' housing in the metropolis (Figures 69 and 81). As the century progressed, these dominant roofs disappeared from the garden cities for the most part, due to the fact that these roofs were comparatively expensive to build and that they were increasingly associated with a romantic, even nostalgic, architectural style.

Other roof contours likewise evoked the vernacular: for example, the asymmetrical gable used by Tessenow in the row houses along Am Schankenberg in Hellerau (Figures 79 and 82) or the half-hipped roof favored by Riemerschmid, who used this roof type at both Hellerau and Nürnberg despite the fact that these garden cities were located in different regions (Figure 109). Riemerschmid also borrowed the detail of the secondary roofline, projecting from the façade of the house to protect the entrance, from vernacular buildings (Figures 67 and 83). This detail was common on farmhouses in Baden and the Rheinpfalz, and, while it served a decorative purpose on Riemerschmid's row houses, it also had functional justification. The classically-inspired buildings in the garden cities generally possessed mansard or hipped roofs (Figure 71 and 100), but the stylistic boundaries were not always so clear-cut. By its very definition, *um 1800* classicism combined elements of the antique with German building traditions, in particular the distinctive, hipped roofline common in many regions of the country. In any case, the steeply



Figure 79. Heinrich Tessenow, end pavilion of row houses, Am Schanckenberg, ca. 1910.



Figure 80. Heinrich Tessenow, house on Am Parle, ca. 1911.





Figure 81. Farmhouse in Baden. The proportion of roof to wall is typical of many vernacular buildings, as is the half-timbered wall construction.

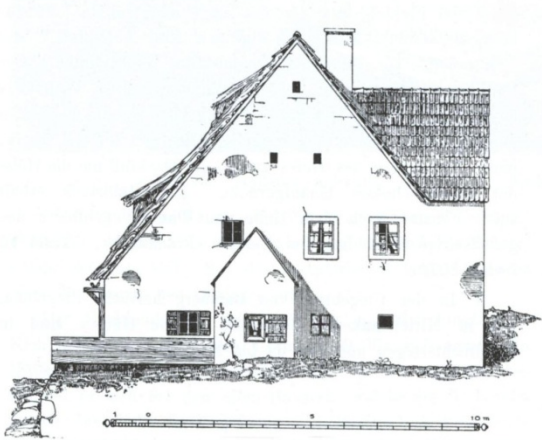


Figure 82. Bavarian farmhouse. Notice the asymmetrical gable like that used by Tessenow in Figure 79.



Figure 83. Farmhouse from the Rheinpfalz. Riemerschmid used the small roof projecting from the façade on his row houses at Hellerau (ca. 1909). See Figure 26.

pitched and elaborately hipped roofs found in many garden cities are the main reason why the simplification and standardization present in the architecture are often overlooked.

The members of the DGG did participate in the lively discussion surrounding flat roofs that surfaced in the architectural press at about this time. They generally rejected the flat roof, not out of reactionary ideology but as a result of pragmatic considerations involving snow loads and rainfall in most regions of Germany. Riemerschmid expressed the opinion of most members of the DGG when he declared: “In our climate the roof is a particularly important component of the house that must find expression; it should above all not be too flat.”<sup>53</sup> The editors of *Gartenstadt* accepted the use of a flat roof – though not the flat roof of the modern movement but rather one described as having a pitch between ten and thirty degrees – only in areas where its shape resonated with the local landscape, in particular the plains of northern Germany.<sup>54</sup> This stance would change after World War I when Taut introduced flat-roofed dwellings at Gartenstadt Kolonie-Reform outside Magdeburg. Likewise, in 1926, the DGG published Hans Kampffmeyer’s *Wohnungen, Siedlungen und Gartenstädte in Holland und England* (Housing, Settlements and Garden Cities in Holland and England), which showcased numerous flat-roofed buildings by architects such as Michel de Klerk and J. J. P. Oud.

The garden city architects treated the materials and methods of construction in the same way they did the roof contours of their buildings, focusing on simplification and economy rather than formal or structural innovation. With the exception of a few brick or stone edifices, buildings in the garden cities possessed stucco surfaces. The architects chose stucco, or *Putzbau*,

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<sup>53</sup> Richard Riemerschmid, “Grundriß und Aussehen, Innenausbau und Einrichtung des Arbeiterwohnhauses,” in *Die künstlerische Gestaltung des Arbeiter-Wohnhauses*, 50. “In unserem Klima ist das Dach ein besonders wichtiger Bestandteil des Hauses, das muß zum Ausdruck kommen; es soll vor allem nicht zu flach sein.”

<sup>54</sup> “Das flache Dach im Heimatbilde,” *Gartenstadt* 6 (July 1912): 129. “...dass das flache Dach (10 bis 30 Grad) den verschiedensten Landschaften, insbesondere auch dem horizontalen Charakter der nordeutschen Tiefebene, von Künstlerhand sehr wohl angepaßt werden kann, und dass dieses Dach unter Umständen auch wesentliche wirtschaftliche Vorteile gewährt.”

partly because it allowed them to emphasize the simple, planar surfaces and volumes of their buildings and partly because it was a time-honored material used in a variety of residential building types, from the farmhouse to the villa. Most often, the builders applied stucco over the underlying structural brick. Gartenstadt Hamburg-Wandsbek was one of the few organizations to attempt a more experimental method of construction, hiring the firm of Sachs & Pohlman, which specialized in concrete construction, to build the houses for a fixed price per square meter.<sup>55</sup> The choice of construction materials did not affect the exterior form of the houses, which resembled the simplified, vaguely Germanic forms of houses at a number of other garden cities (Figure 84).

Karl Schmidt and Heinrich Tessenow also attempted some experiments with materials. As early as 1906, Schmidt had written to Riemerschmid about machine houses (*Maschinenhäuser*), which he envisioned could be mass-produced in a factory in the same way that furniture currently was manufactured.<sup>56</sup> Tessenow's work on what Marco De Michelis calls "an industrialized system for the construction of small houses," patented in 1909 as the Tessenow Wall, represented a step towards the ideal of the mass-produced house (Figure 85).<sup>57</sup> This wall system, an early version of which Tessenow used to construct the houses along Am Schänkenberg, constituted a modern reinterpretation of traditional building methods, namely half-timber construction. Tessenow reduced the construction to beams and corner posts and the

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<sup>55</sup> Hermann Frank, "Aus der Gartenstadtstätigkeit," 171. "Wir fanden eine Baufirma, Sachs & Pohlmann Akt.-Ges. für Betonbau in Hamburg, die für einen festen Preis für das überbaute Quadratmeter uns die Häuser herstellt." According to *Die deutsche Gartenstadt-bewegung*, Sachs & Pohlmann used a *Rohzellen* (tubular cell) system developed by a bureaucrat in Vienna. Reinforced concrete was substituted for half-timber construction and the *Rohzellen* were used for the floors and walls (54-55).

<sup>56</sup> Karl Schmidt to Richard Riemerschmid, 17 September 1906 and 8 April 1907 [Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid I, B-141, Kat S. 477 and 480, Germanisches Nationalmuseum].

<sup>57</sup> Marco De Michelis, "In the First German Garden City: Tessenow in Hellerau," *Lotus International* no. 69 (1991): 60. De Michelis also mentions Schmidt's interest in *Maschinenhäuser*.



Figure 84. Four housing types, Gartenstadt Hamburg-Wandsbek, ca. 1911.

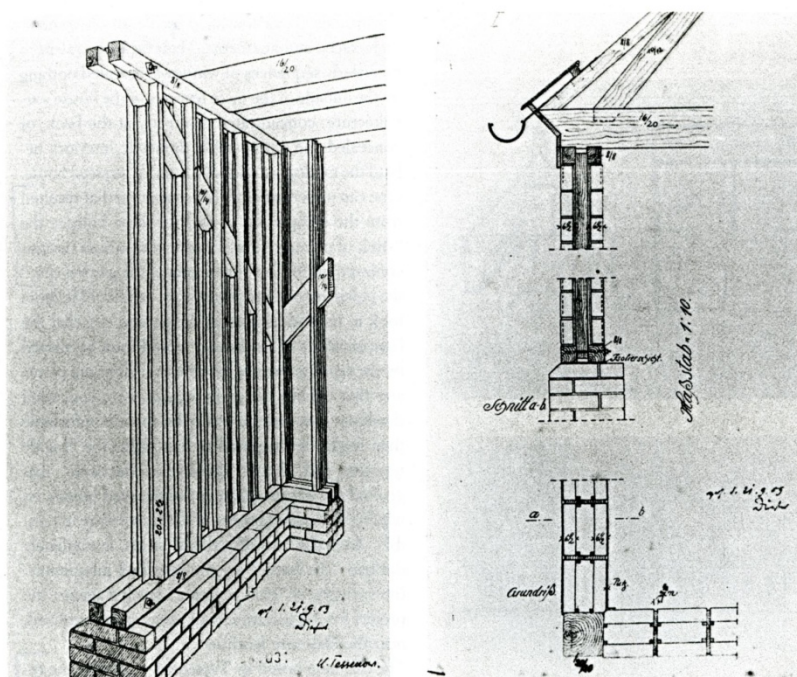


Figure 85. Heinrich Tessenow, drawings of his patented "Tessenow Wall," September 21, 1909.

internal frame to planks with an infill of bricks, all of which he covered in stucco. This eliminated the need for elaborate bracing and cross beams and substantially decreased the cost and time required for construction, as workers could erect a house in approximately four to six weeks using this method.<sup>58</sup>

Like Tessenow's houses, the majority of pre-war residential buildings in the garden cities possessed smooth, stucco façades which gave no indication of the structure underneath. After World War I, Taut strategically exposed portions of the underlying brickwork as a decorative accent on the façades of rowhouses in Gartenstadt Kolonie-Reform (Figure 74).<sup>59</sup> The brick highlighted structural elements of the house by framing the entrance, giving visual weight to the plinth or the cornice of the comparatively low-pitched roof, or delineating the edge of a row house within a larger composition. Taut's use of brick was a highly refined and ingenious way to add interest to these humble buildings without relying on historicist applique, as was Tessenow's use of downspouts to demarcate the boundaries of his row houses on Am Schanckenberg. The architects at Gartenstadt Marienbrunn outside Leipzig used brickwork in a comparable, though much more decorative, way. Rather than a simple line of brick, an elaborate frame of varying depths marked the entrances to multi-family residences (Figure 86). The architects at Gartenstadt Karlsruhe used simple moldings applied to the surface of the building to achieve similar effects (Figures 75 and 87). The row houses on Heckenweg, for example, featured a flat white molding that ran the length of the façade, linking the lintels of the second-story windows. This molding echoed the shape and color of the cornice and that of the window and door frames and tied together various elements of the façade. It lacked the clarity of Taut's

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<sup>58</sup> Gerda Wangerin, "Heinrich Tessenow – seine Tätigkeit als Stadtplaner, Architekt und Möbelgestalter," in *Heinrich Tessenow: Ein Baumeister 1877-1950*, 26.

<sup>59</sup> Earlier, Taut had used exposed brick only for the foundation of his houses.



Figure 86. Apartment building, corner of Triftweg and Lerchenrain, Gartenstadt Marienbrunn, 1928. The brick at the foundation and around the doors and cellar windows emphasized the base of the building and revealed the underlying structure just as Taut had done at Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform, although in a much more decorative fashion.



Figure 87. Row houses, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, ca. 1910-11. Applied molding around the doors enlivened an otherwise completely flat façade.

brickwork, however, because it was obviously added to the surface rather than seeming to emerge from the very structure of the building.

The only other instance in which architects actually revealed the structure beneath the stucco façade was where they used the technique of half-timber construction or *Fachwerk*. Architects could easily tie their buildings to a vernacular tradition using this technique, although, as might be expected, they avoided the decorative effusion created by elaborate patterns of diagonal and curving timber members. The architects at Stockfeld used a simple grid pattern of timber underneath the gable of the building at the intersection of Rue de Grives and Rue Auguste Kirman (Figure 88). Heinrich Tessenow also used a simple grid pattern for the half-timber upper story of the row houses on Am Pfarrlehn in Hellerau. Here, the grid of the brick, which provided the infill, resonated with the larger grid of the wooden beams, creating an updated and abstracted version of the centuries-old technique of half-timber construction (Figure 89). In both instances, the decoration grew out of the structure of the building, creating the unified architecture espoused by critics such as Muthesius.

Color represented yet another aspect of garden city architecture that straddled the divide between modernist impulses and the desire to maintain tradition. Bruno Taut's vibrantly painted row houses (Figures 60 and 74) are the most well-known examples of the use of exterior color. Although his shocking yellow, orange, red, blue and even black houses in Falkenberg and Magdeburg would seem to bear a closer relationship to modern painting than traditional German architecture, Taut explicitly expressed a desire to revive the tradition of colorfully painted houses, a tradition "cherished for centuries" but now sadly forgotten. He repeatedly associated color with life and joy and a desire to bring happiness to the inhabitants of his settlements,



Figure 88. Multi-family residence, Gartenstadt Stockfeld, ca. 1911. The half-timbering here appeared much more traditional than Tessenow's version below due to the steeply pitched roof, despite the fact that both utilized simple grid patterns.



Figure 89. Heinrich Tessenow, row houses, Am Pfarrlehn, Gartenstadt Hellerau, ca. 1912. The exposed brick is a reinterpretation of the traditional half-timber building technique.



contrasting his colorful architecture with the dreary, gray, stone boxes found in most contemporary cities.<sup>60</sup>

At about the same time that he was designing the garden city houses, Taut was also working on the *Glashaus* for the 1914 Werkbund Exhibition. The faceted glass pavilion enclosed a fantastical, synaesthetic environment incorporating stained glass, abstract projections of colored light, a waterfall and piped music. Taut wanted the visitors to have a “heightened, dramatized experience” and “to intensify [their] feeling for life.”<sup>61</sup> He explored these ideas further through numerous publications after World War I. In *Die Stadtkrone* (The City Crown, 1919), the building at the center of the city was a glass building (*Kristallhaus*) completely devoid of function but surrounded by buildings that contained concert halls, museums, and libraries among other communal spaces. In *Alpine Architektur*, also published in 1919, Taut turned mountain ranges into crystal cities, the peaks and valleys encrusted with buildings of colored glass. This glass architecture was meant to transform society, both through its transparency and the joyful effects of colored light.

The mystical or spiritual justifications for the use of color in architecture, which derived from the ideas of the Expressionist writer Paul Scheerbart, were present in muted form in Taut’s garden city architecture and always existed alongside more practical rationales for its use.<sup>62</sup> As in the *Glashaus*, Taut wanted to evoke a reaction in the viewer. Color was a tool “to open the eyes” of the inhabitants “in the hope that a closer emotional bond between them and their

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<sup>60</sup> Bruno Taut, “Aufruf zum farbigen Bauen,” *Die Bauwelt* 10, no. 38 (September 18, 1919): 11.

<sup>61</sup> Bletter, “Bruno Taut and Paul Scheerbart’s Vision, Utopian Aspects of German Expressionist Architecture,” 76.

<sup>62</sup> Rosemarie Haag Bletter has explored Taut’s inspirations in depth, concentrating on the Expressionist writer Paul Scheerbart. See Bletter’s dissertation, mentioned in the previous footnote, and two articles published in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*: “The Interpretation of the Glass Dream-Expressionist Architecture and the History of the Crystal Metaphor” [*JSAH* 40, no. 1 (March 1981): 20- 43] and “Paul Scheerbart’s Architectural Fantasies” [*JSAH* 34, no. 2 (May 1975): 83- 97].

everyday surroundings would follow.”<sup>63</sup> It was also an economical way of decorating standardized row houses, of giving them some sense of individuality and of mediating the uniformity that was a constant danger when economics drove the design of housing, as Adolf Behne pointed out in an essay entitled “Die Bedeutung der Farbe in Falkenberg” (The Meaning of Color in Falkenberg, 1913). Behne even drew a parallel between the colorful residences and the inhabitants of the garden cities, for both in his mind achieved a precarious balance of conflicting desires: a reconciliation between the standardized and the individualized house on the one hand and between individual freedom and the constraints imposed by the needs of the larger community on the other.

Taut’s own ideas about color were largely published after World War I, about five years after he had garnered widespread attention for Gartenstadt Falkenberg and the glass pavilion. In addition to the mystical influences represented in the work of Scheerbart, he drew upon a thread of conversation common in reformist circles at the turn of the century. Ferdinand Avenarius, Alfred Lichtwark and Fritz Schumacher, among others, had published essays advocating the renewed use of color in architecture. In these writings, they linked the use of color to vernacular traditions and expressed a preference for simple architectural forms to accompany vibrant color.<sup>64</sup> Taut concurred but pushed this idea further, stating in 1925 that “the natural ally of clear, perhaps sometimes even brutal, simplicity is color.”<sup>65</sup> He continually attempted to create something new out of traditional sources, and it is likely that he would have embraced the seemingly paradoxical connotations of his use of color – traditional and modern, spiritual and

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<sup>63</sup> Franziska Bollerey and Kristiana Hartmann, “The Chromatic Controversy: Contemporary View of the Twenties,” in *Color in Townscape*, eds. Martina Düttmann, Friedrich Schmuck and Johannes Uhl, trans. John William Gabriel (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Company), 20.

<sup>64</sup> Franziska Bollerey and Kristiana Hartmann, “The Chromatic Controversy: Contemporary View of the Twenties,” 18-20.

<sup>65</sup> Bruno Taut, “Rebirth of Color,” in *Color in Townscape*.

rational – just as the Hart brothers and other early propagandists of the garden city advocated the melding of opposites in the concept of the garden city itself.

Contemporary observers assessed Taut's use of color in a variety of ways. Some, such as Theodor Goecke, viewed Taut's use of color as a development of vernacular color schemes, impossible to imagine without those earlier precedents. He linked Gartenstadt Falkenberg to the colorful houses of seafaring regions of Germany or the inhabitants of Goecke's home in the lower Rheinland (*Niederrhein*) who painted their houses "white, gray or yellow with blue, red or white window frames" for various folk festivals.<sup>66</sup> The connection to vernacular traditions was even more concrete at Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform, where the inhabitants initiated the use of color in their settlement. They wanted their community to provide an alternative to the bleak *Mietskaserne* and had heard of miners in the town of Mansfeld, about 80 kilometers from Magdeburg who painted their houses in bright colors. After visiting the town, they requested something comparable from Taut.<sup>67</sup> Behne, on the other hand, viewed Taut's use of color as fundamentally different from traditional color schemes, in particular those of northern or southern German farmhouses or of a Biedermeier residence.<sup>68</sup> Many lay observers agreed with Behne, although, unlike Behne, they perceived this deviation from tradition as negative. While Taut later stated that a child who lived in the settlement affectionately bestowed the nickname of "Kolonie Tuschkästen" or Paintbox Colony on the garden city, Taut's opponents used this

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<sup>66</sup> Theodor Goecke, *Der Falkenberg*, no. 3 (May 25, 1916): 11, quoted in Hartmann, *Die Gartenstadtbewegung*, 114.

<sup>67</sup> Kurt Junghanns, *Bruno Taut 1880-1938*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1983), 25. The inhabitants certainly encouraged Taut's use of color, but he had long been thinking about the relationship between architectural form and color. See for example his churches in Unterriexingen and Nieden, completed in 1906 and 1911 respectively. Manfred Speidel, in particular, analyzes Taut's interest in painting and in Japanese watercolors and prints and their effect on his architectural compositions.

<sup>68</sup> Adolf Behne, "Die Bedeutung der Farbe in Falkenberg," *Gartenstadt* 7, no. 12 (December 1913): 249-250.



Figure 90. Bruno Taut, apartment building, Gartenstadtweg, Gartenstadt Falkenberg, ca. 1914. Taut painted a geometric pattern in a contrasting color on the portion of the building housing the common stairwell.



Figure 91. Bruno Taut, apartment building on Gartenstadtweg, Gartenstadt Falkenberg, ca. 1914. The black façade, with contrasting painted decoration, reveals Taut's dramatic use of color. The dark color also allowed Taut to manipulate the viewer's spatial impression of the street.

epithet to ridicule Gartenstadt Falkenberg.<sup>69</sup> The *Berliner Tageblatt* published an article on protests by the property owners' organization, the transportation organization and representatives of the municipal council against what they viewed as Taut's outrageous and disrespectful color scheme.<sup>70</sup> As at Magdeburg, the residents of Falkenberg indicated their approval of Taut's use of color, going one step further and voluntarily adopting his bright colors inside their homes.<sup>71</sup>

In the garden cities, Taut used large expanses of richly saturated color for the exterior walls of the houses.<sup>72</sup> Later, Taut would develop complicated theories about the relationship between architectonic form, color and light. For example, at Onkel Toms Hütte (1926-1932), he advocated painting various sides of a building or room in different colors according to the surface's orientation to the sun, with east-facing façades painted the cool, grayish green of early morning light, and west-facing façades painted a warm, rich brownish red.<sup>73</sup> At Falkenberg and Magdeburg, however, the houses were painted a single color on all sides with geometric patterns decorating some of the larger multi-family dwellings (Figures 90-91). He was most concerned with the relationships of individual houses to each other, often alternating light and dark colors within a single grouping of row houses and connecting houses that faced each other across the

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<sup>69</sup> Bruno Taut, "Beobachtungen über Farbenwirkung aus meiner Praxis," *Die Bauwelt* 10, no. 38 (September 18, 1919): 12. The property owners' organizations (*Hausbesitzervereine*) were some of the most vocal opponents of the settlement even before it was built. In *Hausbau und dergleichen*, originally published in 1916, Heinrich Tessenow registered his disapproval of the application of color to houses, calling it childish and superficial [10]. He preferred that the colors of the construction materials be left in their natural state.

<sup>70</sup> "Kolonie Tuschkästen," *Berliner Tageblatt*, no. 349 (July 1915), quoted in Hartmann, *Deutsche Gartenstadtbewegung*, 110.

<sup>71</sup> Junghanns, 25.

<sup>72</sup> Olaf Gisbertz asserts that Taut referred back to "the tradition of painting facades in Germany," which had already been rediscovered by Historicist architects when adorning the buildings in Magdeburg in particular [Olaf Gisbertz, *Bruno Taut und Johannes Göderitz in Magdeburg: Architektur und Städtebau in der Weimarer Republik* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2000), 50].

<sup>73</sup> Julius Posener, introduction to *Bezirk Zehlendorf, Siedlung Onkel Tom: Einfamilienhäuser 1929, Architekt, Bruno Taut*, eds. Helge Pitz and Winfried Brenne (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1980), 33-34.

street through the use of a common color such as mustard yellow or orange (Figure 60). A dark color, like black, could be used to increase the sense of horizontal expansion already achieved by placing a building further back from the edge of the street, as Taut did in the apartment house on Gartenstadtweg (Figure 91). While his decision to use a specific hue like orange or blue had little to do with the forms themselves, he often used color to emphasize the spatial qualities of his architecture within the larger plan.<sup>74</sup> Color was therefore neither determined by nor entirely independent of the forms of his buildings.

Taut painted not only the wall surfaces but also the woodwork of the pergolas, doors and windows. At Gartenstadt Falkenberg and Kolonie Reform, the window frames were painted white, and the doors were ornamented with geometric patterns in green, red, blue, yellow, orange and black that emphasized the paneling of the door. The use of these bright colors updated the vernacular use of “heraldic colors” for window frames and doors as described by Joseph Alfred Lux in his book *Der Städtebau und die Grundpfeiler der heimischen Bauweise* (City Planning and the Foundations of Native Building Construction) and by Theodor Goecke in his assessment of vernacular traditions quoted in the preceding paragraphs.<sup>75</sup>

Like Taut, many other garden city architects used color as an inexpensive means of decoration, a way to avoid the monotony caused by the repetition of relatively simple row house façades, without adding unnecessary decorative or historicist forms to the façades. Most of them

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<sup>74</sup> The clearest statement of Taut’s intentions in this respect comes from a 1930 letter to the building authorities explaining the color scheme at Onkel Toms Hütte. “Color should be used to underline the spatial character of the development. By means of variation in color intensity and brilliance we can expand the space between the house rows in certain directions and compress it in others” [Quoted in Franziska Bollerey and Kristiana Hartmann, “The Chromatic Controversy: Contemporary View of the Twenties,” 24].

<sup>75</sup> Joseph August Lux, *Der Städtebau und die Grundpfeiler der heimischen Bauweise: Zum Verständnis für die Gebildeten aller Ständen namentlich aber für Stadtverordnete, Baumesiter, Architekten, Bauherren etc.* (Dresden: Verlag von Gerhard Hüthmann, 1908), 120. Kristiana Hartmann, in her essay in *Bruno Taut 1880-1938: Architekt zwischen Tradition und Avantgarde*, mentions that Taut’s use of color was unusual before the war but that after 1917, De Stijl would take up the use of color in architecture and would have a widespread effect on many architects in the 1920s [145].

utilized color in a much more traditional way, however. They emphasized the natural whitish color of the stucco or the yellow ochre hue described by Lux as traditional for the exterior walls of farmhouses and other country residences, although they too enlivened the façade by painting the shutters, doors and window frames a bright color such as green or red.<sup>76</sup>

Functional elements such as shutters, some of which had designs painted on them or cut out of them, were the most common form of decoration for garden city residences. Very occasionally, architects utilized other forms of decoration. Georg Metzendorf included simple plaster friezes and carved woodwork around the windows of the houses in Margarethenhöhe (Figure 68). This unusual display was made possible by the relatively large endowment donated by Margarethe Krupp. Even the classically-inspired residences in most garden cities were largely devoid of the common markers of classicism, instead relying on the symmetry of their façades to convey this association. Esch & Anke's houses for Gartenstadt Mannheim were an anomaly in this regard. The architects utilized conventional classical elements such as the triangular pediment and rusticated quoining at the corners of the end pavilion for the row houses lining Heidestraße (Figure 70). Similarly, the architects interrupted the row houses lining Westring with a classically decorated façade marking the central point of the curve (Figure 92). The flat façade decorated with pilasters, a triangular pediment, and dentil moldings provided a striking visual counterpoint to the row houses on either side, whose second stories were hidden within a low mansard roof. These details came perilously close to the kind of applied historical decoration to which Muthesius and Schultze-Naumburg would have objected, despite the simplification of the classical elements. They also point to the lack of control the DGG had over the aesthetics of the individual garden cities, where the tastes of the local board and the architects had more influence than the ideas promoted by the national organization.

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<sup>76</sup> Lux, *Der Städtebau und die Grundpfeiler der heimischen Bauweise*, 119.



Figure 92. Esch & Anke, row houses, Westring, Gartenstadt Mannheim, ca. 1914. The classical detailing is one of the few instances of applied decoration in the garden cities. Notice also the symmetry of the central pavilion. It is unclear from the available sources whether the color of the stucco was original.



Figure 93. Bruno Taut, row houses, Akazienhof, Gartenstadt Falkenberg, ca. 1913. The houses are painted the bright colors associated with Taut. While their façades are not purely symmetrical, Taut maintains a sense of balance and rhythm.



All of the garden city architects used the pattern of fenestration to decorative effect, thereby confirming Lux's assertion that the "windows and doors are the natural decoration of houses."<sup>77</sup> The architects favored symmetry and the rhythmic dispersal of openings across street elevations. They often conceived of groups of row houses as single compositions and, while some of the individual elevations were symmetrical, many architects created symmetry by pairing row house façades. The boundary between two houses thus formed the central axis of a symmetrical composition (Figure 67 and 74). Where architects abandoned pure axial symmetry, they maintained a sense of proportion and rhythm in the façade. Taut's row house elevation for Akazienhof in Gartenstadt Falkenberg provides a perfect example (Figure 93). Taut placed the dormer window directly in the center of the composition. The door was necessarily placed to one side of the narrow façade and the ground floor window to the other, slightly above the door. Taut used subtle deviations from the axis to enliven this rather simple house front while still maintaining balance overall. A similar analysis could be performed for any number of individual row houses found in garden cities.

The emphasis on rhythm can be traced to the teachings of both Muthesius and Fischer and was an important means of deterring the monotonous effect that easily resulted from the repetition of a house type or design.<sup>78</sup> The architects achieved a sense of rhythm across row house groupings or free-standing residences through the differentiation of window sizes and the grouping of openings within the larger composition. The row houses in particular were usually one room wide on the ground floor and two at most on the upper storey. The architects, therefore, had relative flexibility in the placement of the windows, which was driven in equal

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid, 121.

<sup>78</sup> Muthesius spoke of the importance of a sense for the rhythmic and architectonic in his 1912 lecture to the Werkbund, entitled "Wo Stehen Wir?" This article was one of many instances in which Muthesius expressed this basic idea. Fischer's ideas concerning "geometric rhythm" were discussed briefly earlier in this chapter.

measure by the exterior effect and the needs of interior spaces. One never finds the asymmetry of an English country house in which the placement of windows was determined entirely by the light requirements of the interior spaces. However, the resulting façades of the garden city row houses often did express the allocation of interior space; architects repeatedly marked stairwells by groups of smaller windows that spanned the floors of a building or floated above the door to the residence (Figure 91-92). Many architects also reduced the size of the upper floor windows in comparison to those on the ground floor, thereby distinguishing between the public and private realms of the house and creating a hierarchy within the elevation.

The rhythm of the whole streetscape was as important to many garden city architects as the rhythm of individual façades. They often achieved this rhythm by drawing attention to the end pavilions of groups of row houses. These end dwellings were slightly more commodious than the row houses next to them. Their increased size necessitated different façade compositions, which created visual interest, as did their staggered placement in relation to the street. Pushing these elements back from or bringing them closer to the street created an ebb and flow of the building line as the viewer walked down the street, punctuating the otherwise identical compositions of the row houses.

Everywhere in the garden cities, the DGG attempted to find a balance between individual and communal needs. The economic system was structured so as to give inhabitants the freedom to pursue any profession or enterprise they chose, while protecting residents from monopolies and exploitative employers. The methods of land ownership were created so as to give the inhabitants the benefits of property ownership, while preventing speculation and returning increases in the value of land to the community as a whole. In urban planning and architecture,

garden city architects struggled to find an equilibrium between the individual and the typical; their exploration of standardization in row houses anticipated the debates surrounding *Type* that raged within the Werkbund in 1914. This is not altogether surprising in that many of the same actors were involved with both organizations. Frederic Schwartz has explored the complex tangle of meanings associated with the German words *Type* and *Typisierung*, many of which are relevant to the architecture of the garden cities.<sup>79</sup> In his book *The Werkbund: Design Theory and Mass Culture before the First World War*, Schwartz asserts that early twentieth-century Germans attributed multiple connotations to the word *Typisierung* and that the flexibility of the word contributed to its appeal. *Typisierung* could conjure traditional ideas of historical building types or (and sometimes simultaneously) the standardization of industrial production. Schwartz referred to the work of the economist Karl Bücher, who in 1921 distinguished between “normalization” and “*Typisierung*,” the first concept addressed the creation of standardized components of construction which could be combined in any number of ways and the latter referred to the creation of a finite, and very limited, number of final products.<sup>80</sup> Both normalization and *Typisierung* as defined by Bücher were present in the architecture of the garden cities, although the architects and organizers never used this vocabulary to describe their efforts. They expressed great interest in standardization on both economic and aesthetic grounds and allude to the typical regularly in the pages of *Gartenstadt*, but rather than referring to *Typisierung*, they spoke of the uniformity (*Gleichförmigkeit* or *Gleichartigkeit*) of design elements.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Frederic J. Schwartz, *The Werkbund: Design Theory & Mass Culture Before the First World War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 121-128.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid*, 126.

<sup>81</sup> See, for example, Richard Abels, “Von englischen Typen-Wohnungen,” *Gartenstadt* 7, no. 3 (March 1913): 53-54.

Hans Kampffmeyer's exploration of type in the pages of the DGG's propaganda relied heavily on Muthesius's ideas and was integrally bound with the advocacy of functional architecture and respect for the vernacular. A type, in Muthesius's view, was a perfect formal expression of a specific set of needs.<sup>82</sup> One could have a "type" of a chair, a fork, or workers' housing. The DGG was very interested in the artistic form of worker's housing, and the garden cities did, in many respects, develop a type for the row house dwelling. Nearly all were two rooms deep to allow adequate access to light and air. The plans varied slightly in their proportions but otherwise remained basically the same from one settlement to the next, despite the presence of different architects and different administrations. Economic necessity drove the development of a typical row house, and the fact that this form of housing was often intended for workers rather than members of the middle- or upper-classes allowed a greater degree of standardization than otherwise would have been possible. The uniformity of the designs was at odds with the *Heimatschutz* movement's embrace of local particulars but in keeping with the universalizing trend of modern industrial culture feared by many early twentieth-century Germans. This tension between individualization and universality was expressed in the way each garden city strove to create a distinct architectural impression using the relatively limited palate of vernacular and *um 1800*-inspired forms.

The tension between individualization and standardization – and between the individual and the community - was also expressed in the attempts to avoid monotony *within* each garden city. The garden city architects embraced the economic benefits of standardization and the unity that the repetition of component parts could bring to a settlement but did not celebrate the aesthetics of standardization to the degree that the architects of the *Zeilenbau* in the 1920s and

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<sup>82</sup> Schwartz, 123. Schwartz asserts that Muthesius, in turn, drew upon Gottfried Semper's ideas concerning type.



1930s did.<sup>83</sup> Whether it was the house as a whole or the component parts, architects created a variety of models that could be used throughout the settlements. They wanted to provide enough variation that the settlements would not appear monotonous but not so much that the economic benefits of standardization would be lost. Riemerschmid and Metzendorf could stand in for any number of garden city architects in terms of their approach to standardized housing.

Riemerschmid created thirty-four house designs, ranging from three to nine rooms, for his portion of Hellerau.<sup>84</sup> Metzendorf took a slightly different approach in that the exterior of his dwellings varied significantly, while his floor plans consisted of a handful of basic designs: two-story individual houses with five rooms or two- to four-room dwellings within a two-story apartment house (Figures 94-95).<sup>85</sup> Metzendorf rarely used the row house typology, preferring instead to create buildings that looked like large, individual dwellings such as might be found on the estate of the landed gentry, but which, in reality, contained numerous small apartments. Many garden city architects also designed a limited number of windows, doors, shutters and hardware that could be used in varying combinations throughout the settlements (Figure 96).

Leberecht Migge was one of the few authors in the pages of *Gartenstadt* to call actively for more standardization and economy in the construction of garden cities. His essays presage post-war criticism of the movement in their condemnation of curved streets and the reliance on older building styles. He argued that “the city of handcrafted charm is lost to us” and urged his

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<sup>83</sup> The limited acceptance of the aesthetics of standardization might have something to do with the importance of *Sitte* in the garden city movement. Following in his footsteps, the DGG fought to reintroduce the artistic into cities and condemned drafting board solutions such as grid street patterns. Having fought so hard against the monotony of contemporary city planning, it is not surprising that they did not advocate taking standardization to its furthest extreme.

<sup>84</sup> Kristiana Hartmann argued that many of these houses were slight variations of each other and grouped the 34 house designs into 6 basic typologies.

<sup>85</sup> Peter W. Kallen, “‘Idylle oder Illusion?’ Die Margarethenhöhe in Essen von Georg Metzendorf” in *Der westdeutsche Impuls 1900-1914: Kunst und Umweltgestaltung im Industriegebiet* (Essen: Museum Folkwang, 1984), 75, 78.

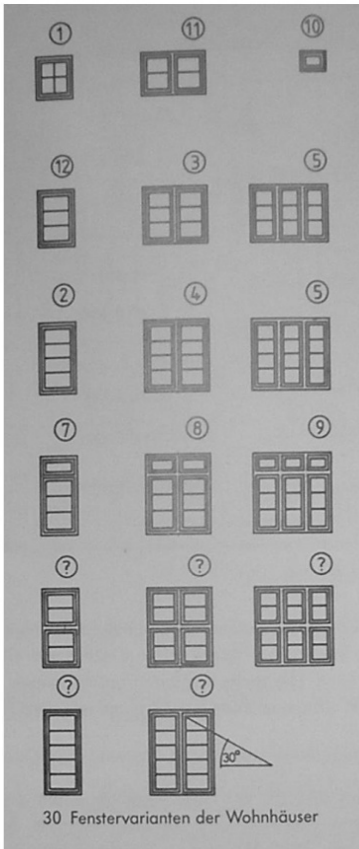


Figure 96.  
Paul Schmitthenner,  
window variations,  
Gartenstadt Staaken.

compatriots to rely on reason and the logic of “type.”<sup>86</sup> He felt that the range of needs to be fulfilled by housing would result in enough variety without searching for artificial ways to enhance that variety.<sup>87</sup> He was unafraid of a degree of monotony, which he viewed as reflecting the leveling power of contemporary economic models.<sup>88</sup> Migge seemed to be calling for his peers to stop hiding the standardization that provided the underpinnings of garden city architecture, a call that few of his colleagues heeded.

The strict rules of economy and standardization that governed the design of row houses and free-standing multi-family dwellings were loosened for the few villas and communal buildings that graced each garden city plan. The inhabitants of the villas had much greater input in the program and design of their dwellings, but their residences were not significantly different from other turn-of-the-century houses built in upper-

class suburban areas outside major cities across Germany (Figure 97-99). They exhibited some restrained *Jugendstil* decoration and a bit more asymmetry in plan and façade than was possible in the row houses but maintained the overall simplicity and rhythm of the other garden city dwellings. Little innovation took place here, with the exception of the villas designed by Tessenow for Gartenstadt Hellerau. Tessenow’s villas, like his row houses, drew upon the *Ur-*

<sup>86</sup> Leberecht Migge, “Rhythmen der neuen (Garten-) Stadt,” *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 12 (December 1910): 138. “...die Stadt der handwerklichen Reize ist für uns verloren.”

<sup>87</sup> Migge, “Mehr Ökonomie,” 110.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

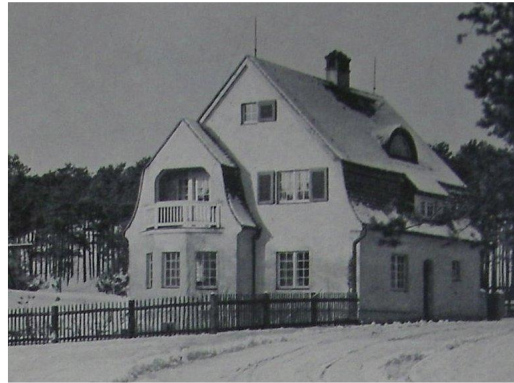
forms of rectangular building volume and triangular gable roof. Sometimes, he exaggerated essential components, like the roof of the house on Auf der Sand, until that component dominated the entire composition, creating something seemingly new out of the oldest architectural forms (Figure 99).

More important than the villas were the communal buildings that provided a focal point for the plans. These buildings were not the community centers called for by Hans Kampffmeyer nor the *Volkshaus* (people's house) envisioned by Theodor Fischer, which had no practical purpose and was simply a space for "being happy," for meditation and "inner experience."<sup>89</sup> They all served very practical purposes, containing stores, administrative offices or other services needed by the settlements. For the most part, these buildings did not deviate significantly from the stylistic preferences of the garden cities; rather, they represented more monumental and elaborate versions of the vernacular or *um 1800* classicism that dominated the movement. The buildings that ringed Ostendorfplatz are a good example of this phenomenon (Figure 100). They marked the entrance to Gartenstadt Karlsruhe and contained the administrative offices of the garden city, along with shops on the ground floor and some apartments above. Ostendorf adorned these buildings with pilasters and arcades and curved their façades to reflect the shape of the plaza; otherwise, they are not fundamentally different from the smaller and less elaborate classically-inspired dwellings found throughout the garden city. In a similar manner, Schmitthenner's storefronts along Heidebergplan (Figure 101) at the center of Gartenstadt Staaken were large-scale, brick versions of the stucco, Dutch gable row houses found along Am Kleinen Platz or Zwischen den Giebeln.

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<sup>89</sup> Theodor Fischer, "Was ich bauen möchte?" *Hohe Warte* 3 (1906): 326-327. Karl Schmidt mentioned this article in a letter to Riemerschmid and wondered whether Riemerschmid had anything to do with the text [Karl Schmidt to Richard Riemerschmid, 26. September 1906, Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid I, B-140, Kat.S.476, Germanisches Nationalmuseum].





Figures 97-98. Hermann Muthesius, Dalcroze Villa, Gartenstadt Hellerau (left) and Theodor Fischer, Villa, Gartenstadt Hellerau (right).



Figure 99. Heinrich Tessenow, Villa on Auf der Sand, Gartenstadt Hellerau. The entire house seems to consist of the steeply pitched roof, whose eaves line up with the lintel of the porch covering the front door.

Gartenstadt Hellerau was unique in having a number of communal buildings scattered throughout the garden city. Riemerschmid's market building for Gartenstadt Hellerau possessed the same shutters, upper-story dormer windows and half-hipped roof adorning his row houses, although the ground level arcade was much more imposing than anything found in the residential architecture (Figure 102). This building was located at the heart of the workers' quarter and formed one side of a plaza, around which Riemerschmid planned other communal buildings, including a school, administrative buildings, and a central washhouse and bath. In contrast, Riemerschmid located the factory at the edge of the settlement, in between the villa and workers' housing quarters (Figures 103-106). The asymmetrically organized factory buildings ringed a central yard and were accessed through an arched gate that evoked the entrance to traditional German farmyards. The asymmetry of the composition and the variations in the façades reflected the different functions found within, including machine rooms, workshops and offices. Here, Riemerschmid stripped the building of symbols of domesticity such as shutters and added a clock tower to mark the workers' shifts. The numerous large windows provided excellent light for the furniture workshops, but this factory, in its picturesque, rurally-inflected asymmetry, is a far cry from the contemporaneous classical monumentality of Peter Behrens's AEG Turbine Factory (1910) or the glass modernity of Walter Gropius's Faguswerk (1911-1913).

The most famous building in Hellerau and the one that comes closest to the idea of the *Volkshaus* was Heinrich Tessenow's *Festspielhaus* (Figure 106), which housed Emil Jaques-Dalcroze's Institute of Rhythmic Gymnastics.<sup>90</sup> Dalcroze intended to create a harmonious community through instruction in rhythmic movement and musicality. Marco De Michelis has

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<sup>90</sup> The building also recalls Hans Kampffmeyer's ideas for a *Gesellschaftshaus* forming the artistic and educational center of the community. These German words have different connotations despite the fact that the buildings were meant to serve very similar purposes in the community. *Volkshaus* translates as People's House and connects to contemporary ideas about the authenticity of folk culture. *Gesellschaftshaus* translates as Community House. With



Figure 100. Friedrich Ostendorf, Ostendorfplatz, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, ca. 1925.



Figure 101. Paul Schmitthenner, stores, Heidebergplan, Gartenstadt Staaken, ca. 1914.



Figure 102. Richard Riemerschmid, market building, Gartenstadt Hellerau, ca. 1910.

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this term, Kampffmeyer emphasized the communal nature of the garden city enterprise and the creation of new spiritual communities as well physical ones. *Festspielhaus* translates as Festival House and therefore has implications of celebration and ceremony.



elucidated the precise ways in which Dalcroze's ideas on dance and theater helped to shape the interior space of this building, which was part school, part performance space and part gymnasium. De Michelis has also explored the various permutations of this design that resulted from the intersection of the demands of Dalcroze and of the garden city.<sup>91</sup> The final iteration melded the classical – the square-pillared portico of the central temple front – with the domestic – the steeply pitched gable over the portico more suited to a house than a temple and the dormer windows on the side wings. The scale of the *Festspielhaus* would have been mediated by the other elements of the composition, namely the student houses, connected by pergolas, which faced it across an open plaza. Tessenow maintained the symmetry and pure geometric forms that he utilized in the row houses on Am Schanckenberg, providing a formal link between seemingly disparate buildings. Even though the building symbolized Hellerau to the wider world, its import for the daily life of the garden city was somewhat diminished when disputes between Karl Schmidt and Wolf Dohrn over costs, along with Riemerschmid's objections concerning what he perceived to be the disruptive monumentality of the design, caused it to be removed from a site at the center of Hellerau to a location some distance from the rest of the garden city.<sup>92</sup> De Michelis argues that much of the discomfort caused by Tessenow's designs, here and in his housing, had to do with the fact that he went beyond interpreting the traditions of German architecture and tried to create "essential" forms.<sup>93</sup>

A final example of monumental communal buildings can be found in the market square of Margarethenhöhe, which the visitor reached after passing through the arched building that

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<sup>91</sup> Marco De Michelis, "Modernity and Reform, Heinrich Tessenow and the Institut Dalcroze at Hellerau," *Perspecta* 26 (1990).

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 156-157 and 159.

<sup>93</sup> Marco De Michelis, "In the First German Garden City: Tessenow in Hellerau," 66.

marked the entrance to the settlement and winding his way past the vernacularly-inspired houses lining Steile Straße. The narrow confines of the residential street opened into the expansive space of the market. The *Konsumanstalt*, here a company store rather than a consumer cooperative, dominated the plaza through its placement at the top of an incline and the monumental nature of its architecture (Figure 107). The Baroque massing of the *Konsumanstalt* included a central pavilion and recessed side wings adorned with abstracted flat pilasters, which alternated with long, thin ribbons of windows. The store's design is reminiscent of department stores such as that built by Alfred Messel for the Wertheim Company, an urban reference that almost seems out of place in the curving, picturesque streets of the garden city. An elaborate *Gasthof* or inn faced off against the *Konsumanstalt* (Figure 108). The *Gasthof* possessed similar massing, with a central pavilion and recessed side wings, but the architecture was a jumble of classical and regional references, ranging from the vaguely Egyptoid columns which supported a balcony fronting a row of rounded windows to the scalloped, decorative loggia and large dormer window flanked by ornamental scrollwork which topped the ensemble. The strong axis created by these two buildings, along with the memorial fountain erected to commemorate the dedication ceremony for the settlement, created an impressive monument to the company whose generosity funded the entire endeavor.<sup>94</sup> The presence of the benefactors was stronger here than in any other garden city of the time, especially as most wanted to emphasize their independence as self-sufficient communities and avoid the appearance of being a company town controlled by an employer.

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<sup>94</sup> Peter Kallen argues that the presence of the Krupp family in the square becomes even more obvious when compared to a looser, more asymmetrical version that predated the existing composition. There, the store faced a churchyard with an apothecary and doctor and an inn occupying the other sides of the plaza ["Idylle oder Illusion?" 89-90].



Figure 107. Georg Metzendorf, Krupp'sche *Konsumanstalt*, Margarethenhöhe, ca. 1912.



Figure 108. Georg Metzendorf, *Gasthof*, Margarethenhöhe, ca. 1912.

Communal buildings provided a contrast to the residential architecture whether in style or scale. They also supplied a focal point for community interaction and the democratic administration of the settlements, underscoring the fact that the roots of the garden city concept were in the cooperative movement and anarcho-socialist theory. While most of the garden cities possessed communal buildings, large-scale public gardens or parks were rare.<sup>95</sup> Economic constraints made it difficult for the cooperatives to purchase land for uses other than the construction of dwellings. In addition, lower density settlement patterns and the abundance of private gardens rendered public parks less of a necessity for psychological and bodily health than they were for the residents of large urban centers. None of the German garden cities grew to the point where it required the green belt prescribed by Ebenezer Howard or incorporated the agriculture that would have provided additional open space, but Gartenstadt Karlsruhe and Margarethenhöhe did border forest preserves owned by the city that functioned as a form of green belt limiting growth.<sup>96</sup>

Contrary to what one might expect given the name of the movement, gardens represented a secondary design concern within most garden cities. The garden city cooperatives largely left the design of gardens to the inhabitants, a practice openly criticized by Migge in the pages of *Gartenstadt*. He argued that the gardens should be designed in conjunction with the architecture, as the two inextricably influenced each other, and that the gardens for an entire community

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<sup>95</sup> Ludwig Lesser did design playing fields (*Spielplatz*) for Gartenstadt Falkenberg but, like much of the plan, they were never executed [Katrin Lesser, *Gartenstadt Falkenberg: Gartendenkmalpflegerisches Gutachten* (Berlin, July 2001), 27].

<sup>96</sup> In an early article for *Gartenstadt*, Peter Behrens had argued that the exact type of green space mattered less than its existence at all. The inhabitants would not care, in his view, whether the designers provided a large centralized park, a green belt or a number of parks scattered throughout the composition [“Die Gartenstadtbewegung,” 26.] In the end, however, few of the garden cities possessed additional park complexes.



should reflect the unified vision a single garden architect.<sup>97</sup> In practice, this occurred rarely: Gartenstadt Leipzig-Marienbrunn hired Migge to design the small park called Arminiushof, located at the center of the plan, along with the individual house gardens (Figure 109-110), and Ludwig Lesser designed Akazienhof and the gardens for Gartenstadt Falkenberg.<sup>98</sup> If most inhabitants did not have the luxury of a professionally-planned garden, they could find advice regarding garden design in the pages of *Gartenstadt*. Migge wrote a number of articles on the role and design of gardens within the garden city, as did his competitor Harry Maaß and the garden directors of various cities. The magazine also featured specialized articles analyzing garden layouts and suggesting plantings for each month, many of which were penned by an unknown writer with the pseudonym of “Horticus.”<sup>99</sup>

Hans Kampffmeyer expressed the general consensus of the movement regarding gardens in an article entitled “Über Gärten” (About Gardens). He argued for the suitability of the architectonic garden claiming that not only gardening experts but also architects and painters preferred this form.<sup>100</sup> For Kampffmeyer, the architectonic garden represented the conceptual parallel to the *sachlich* house: both embodied a “new spirit” and a desire to throw off the artistic shackles of “the dead formula.”<sup>101</sup> This article also contained other important tenets regarding

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<sup>97</sup> Leberecht Migge, “Die kleinen Gärten in der Gartenstadt,” *Gartenstadt* 7, no. 4 (April 1913): 68.

<sup>98</sup> Migge also designed the gardens for the 1913 Internationale Bauausstellung in Leipzig, with which the garden city was associated [David Haney, *When Modern was Green: Life and Work of Landscape Architect Leberecht Migge* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 102 and 126].

<sup>99</sup> See for example the article “Ratgeber für Garten und Hof. Anlage des Gartens bei Reinheinhäusern,” *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 7 (July 1911): 85-87.

<sup>100</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, “Über Gärten,” *Gartenstadt* 1, no. 2 (1906-1907): 11.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid. “Ein neuer Geist, ein Geist der Auflehnung gegen die Autorität der toten Formel ging in diesen Jahren durch unsere Kunst und läßt sich auch von den Stacheldrahtzäunen der modernen Anlagen nicht zurückhalten.” As with most other facets of the garden city, he did not adhere to any dogma or ideology and felt that the fight over the curved or the straight garden path missed the larger point. He did not believe in a universal solution and asserted

garden design, namely the conception of the garden as an extension of the living space of the family and as a place where food could be grown and the inhabitants made healthy by vigorous work in the open air.<sup>102</sup>

The row house with its associated narrow plot of land (sometimes only 4 or 5 meters wide) certainly did not lend itself to the naturalistic effusions of English garden designs against which Migge and his contemporaries campaigned, but it also presented logistical problems for the implementation of architectonic designs. Authors such as Horticus struggled to find the proper form for the row house garden, which usually measured approximately 200 square meters as that was agreed to be the size that a family could reasonably work in their spare time.<sup>103</sup>

Horticus proposed two basic garden forms. The first consisted of a long rectangular plot of land extending directly behind each row house. This arrangement was utilized in many of the garden cities, although Horticus chose a garden from Hellerau to illustrate his point. The second configuration combined the gardens of two row houses into square plots and situated one behind the other (Figures 111-112).<sup>104</sup> Horticus preferred this second configuration, as did Ludwig Lesser, and asserted that the separation of the rear garden from one of the houses was a small price to pay for the increased functionality of the square plots.<sup>105</sup> He even argued for an increased community feeling as a result of this configuration as the shared pathways to the gardens would create more interaction among the inhabitants. The editors of the magazine

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that many different forms could be pleasing as long as the designer respected the relationship between the architecture and the garden [12].

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ludwig Lesser, *Der Kleingarten, seine zweckmäßigste Anlage und Bewirtschaftung*, quoted in Katrin Lesser, 20.

<sup>104</sup> Horticus, "Anlage des Gartens bei Reihenhäuser," *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 7 and no. 8 (July and August 1911): 85-87 and 103-105.

<sup>105</sup> Ludwig Lesser, *Der Kleingarten*, quoted in Katrin Lesser, 21.

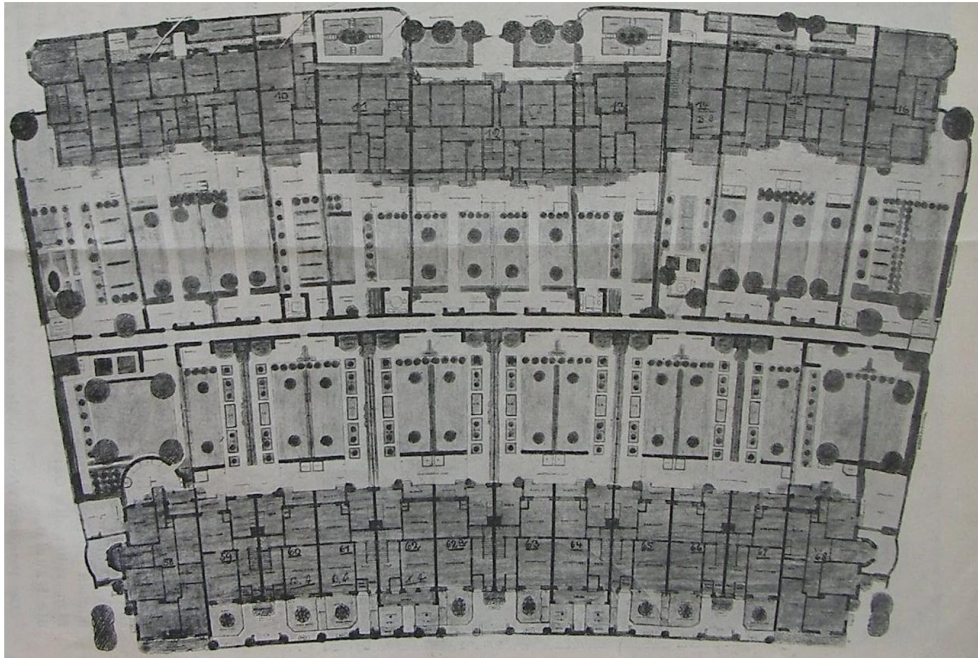


Figure 109. Leberecht Migge, gardens between Arminiusshof and Am Bogen, Gartenstadt Leipzig-Marienbrunn, ca. 1913.

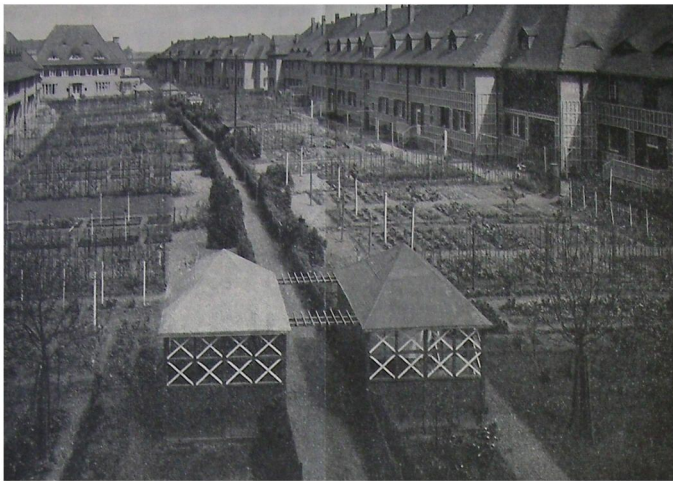


Figure 110. Leberecht Migge, gardens between Arminiusshof and Am Bogen (left) and an unspecified garden (right), Gartenstadt Leipzig-Marienbrunn, ca. 1913.

questioned this premise, defending the need for a direct connection between the house and garden, but printed the article in its entirety.<sup>106</sup>

Nearly all of the gardens described or illustrated in the pages of *Gartenstadt* represented variations on the popular model of the *Bauerngarten* or farmer's garden, which David Haney traces back to Alfred Lichtwark.<sup>107</sup> Members of the DGG may have encountered the concept through various sources, but Hans Kampffmeyer referred to a specific chapter on the subject in Willis Lange's *Gartengestaltung der Neuzeit (Garden Design of the Modern Age)*.<sup>108</sup> Lichtwark conceived of the farmer's garden as a conceptual model that was intended to be modified according to actual needs, rather like Howard's schematic diagram for the garden city. Lichtwark described the farmer's garden as consisting of a *Hof* or yard, which was directly accessible from the house in order to accommodate outdoor activities such as the drying of clothes or the taking of meals outdoors, and planting beds arranged in a square or rectangle and divided by cruciform paths whose main axis connect directly to the house.<sup>109</sup> All of the garden city gardens maintained the yard near the house, but most had to omit the cruciform plan due to the reality of the narrow plot, as that arrangement sacrificed too much usable garden space to walkways. The designers compromised by shifting the main walkway to one side of the narrow space. Beds near the house were reserved for flowers and other ornamental plantings while vegetables and fruit bushes were located at a further distance from the house. Neither Migge's

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<sup>106</sup> "Vom Garten in Gartenstädten," *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 12 (December 1911): 172. The editors inserted the notation "? Die Schrifl." into the text to express their disagreement with the author's conclusion. The article is unsigned but references the earlier articles by Horticus published on the topic. It seems likely that Horticus was also the author of this article.

<sup>107</sup> Haney, *When Modern was Green*, 21-23.

<sup>108</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, "Über Gärten," 13.

<sup>109</sup> Haney, *When Modern was Green*, 21-22.

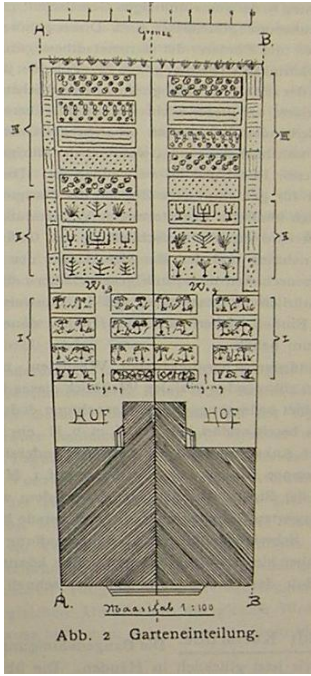


Figure 111. Example of row house gardens for Gartenstadt Hellerau. The gardens were organized in groups of two, creating a symmetrical arrangement out of asymmetrical components as was done with many of the row houses façades in the garden cities.

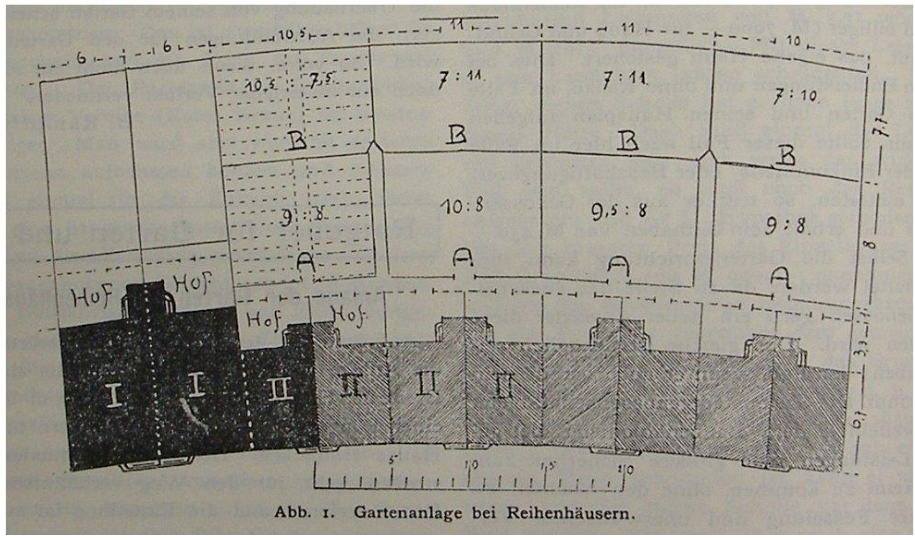


Figure 112. Example of second garden configuration for row houses. Here the gardens are arranged back to back with no direct access from the houses to the "B" gardens.

gardens for Gartenstadt Marienbrunn nor Lesser's gardens for Gartenstadt Falkenberg deviated significantly from the typology of the farmer's garden recommended in the pages of *Gartenstadt*.

The *Vorgarten* or front garden represented a much more contentious issue within the DGG. Many architects and landscape architects, among them Migge and Tessenow, found little to recommend about the front garden, which existed mostly to shield the house from the dust and noise of the street.<sup>110</sup> Migge recognized the need to separate the house from the street but objected to the piecemeal planting that usually occurred, with some residents neglecting the *Vorgarten* and others zealously overplanting the small space. He suggested either simple strips of grass – a technique that Hans Kampffmeyer similarly admired in the plans for a worker's village built for the National Register Cash Company in Dayton, Ohio – or a unified composition of flowers for groups of houses or a street.<sup>111</sup>

Migge, Lesser and Horticus envisioned garden cities employing experts to help the other inhabitants with designing and planting gardens. Migge advocated for central nurseries where the inhabitants could also purchase plants at reasonable costs, and Lesser envisioned garden cities providing the permanent features of the inhabitants' gardens such as trees and fruit bushes.<sup>112</sup> In an effort to maintain the quality of the gardens while giving residents some control over their land, Lesser devised lists of plantings from which the inhabitants of Gartenstadt

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<sup>110</sup> Migge, "Die kleinen Gärten in der Gartenstadt," 68 and Heinrich Tessenow, *Der Wohnhausbau* (Munich: Georg D.W. Callwey, 1909), 6. Pro-*Vorgarten* articles were also published in *Gartenstadt*, most notably the article "Zwischen Straßenzaun und Baulinie. Vorgartenstudien von Harry Maaß" [August 1910, 92-96].

<sup>111</sup> Migge, "Die kleinen Gärten in der Gartenstadt," 68 and Hans Kampffmeyer, "Das Arbeiterdorf der National-Register-Cash-Comp. Dayton (Ohio, U-St.)," *Gartenstadt* 2, no. 4 (1908): 30.

<sup>112</sup> Migge, "Die kleinen Gärten in der Gartenstadt," 69 and Ludwig Lesser, *Der Kleingarten*, quoted in Karin Lesser, 23. Gartenstadt Hellerau also intended to provide "three young fruit trees" to the inhabitants to help them begin their gardens [Emil Behnisch, "Rundschau, Hellerau," *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 5 (May 1911): 58].

Falkenberg could choose the trees and fruit bushes that would grace their gardens.<sup>113</sup> While most garden cities lacked the funds for endeavors of this sort, some, including Gartenstadt Stockfeld and Gartenstadt Hellerau, held competitions for the most beautiful *Vorgarten* and window boxes in an effort to instill an interest in gardening in their inhabitants.<sup>114</sup>

Competitions such as these embodied the curious mix of democratic and paternalistic impulses that surrounded much of the design in German garden cities. In an effort to control the quality of the built environment and to ensure that the garden cities remained coherent aesthetic wholes, many of the garden city organizations created artistic advisory committees made up of prominent architects and artists. Advisory committees remained necessary because the garden cities were not, at the outset, organic productions of the communities they housed and because the built environment had not yet had a chance to exert its influence on the inhabitants. In other words, the founders of garden cities did not trust that their aesthetic vision would be maintained without supervision.

The most prominent example of an advisory committee existed at Hellerau, where it was known as the *Bau- und Kunstkommission* (Building and Art Committee); it consisted of Theodor Fischer, Herman Muthesius, Richard Riemerschmid, Fritz Schumacher, the sculptor Adolf v. Hildebrand and the painter Otto Gussmann, among others.<sup>115</sup> The building regulations for Hellerau established the authority of the *Bau- und Kunstkommission*, stating that “no building

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<sup>113</sup> Katrin Lesser, 29-30. Not all of the residents adhered to the lists or the guidelines that Lesser established for the gardens. Inhabitants were given free reign over the areas to be planted annually.

<sup>114</sup> *Die Deutsche Gartenstadt-Bewegung*, 60. Also a text signed by Gartenstadt Hellerau and the Baugenossenschaft Hellerau found in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum [Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid I, B-140]. This document refers to a competition held in the summer of 1912 for the “most beautiful flower garden in the workers’ quarter” in which prizes ranging from 10 to 30 Marks were awarded. These competitions would be a fruitful avenue of further study if records of the rules and winners could be found.

<sup>115</sup> Die Gartenstadt Hellerau bei Dresden G.m.b.H, *Die Gartenstadt Hellerau: Ein Bericht über den Zweck, die Organisation, die Ansiedlungs-Bedingungen, die bisherigen Erfolge und die Ziele*, 20.

will be permitted to be built without the consent of the commission.”<sup>116</sup> These same regulations recognized the somewhat contradictory claims being made about the power of design. The authors asserted that communities that maintained a living artistic tradition required only the most minimal of building regulations. Architects in those societies were endowed with superior architectonic knowledge and a sense of social responsibility, both of which allowed towns to grow organically.<sup>117</sup> The organizers of Hellerau acknowledged the necessity for specific building regulations and the *Bau- und Kunstkommission* at the project’s inception but obviously hoped that the resulting community might outgrow the need for both.

As with every element of the German garden city movement, however, no consistent approach for ensuring aesthetic harmony existed. Many garden cities followed in Hellerau’s footsteps and created artistic advisory committees. The advisory committee at Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, for example consisted of four professors from the local *Technische Hochschule*, the most famous of whom was the painter and architect, Max Läger.<sup>118</sup> The organizers of Gartenstadt Falkenberg, on the other hand, chose Bruno Taut to design the city plan and the buildings for the community. They felt that a single architect could more easily create a coherent whole and specifically described their choice as being in opposition to Hellerau’s use of an

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<sup>116</sup> “Bauvorschriften für das Plangebiet ‚Hellerau in Rähnitz‘ bei Dresden (Auszug),” in *Bauordnung und Bebauungsplan*, 47. An alternative version of this document can be found in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum [Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid, I, B-142]. “In dem Plangebiet darf kein Bau errichtet werden, der nicht die Genehmigung dieser Kommission gefunden hat. Bei Einreichung der Pläne an die Baupolizeibehörde ist in jedem Falle das Gutachten der Kommission beizufügen.”

<sup>117</sup> Ibid, 45.

<sup>118</sup> Schollmeier, 111. Läger was a great influence on Leberecht Migge, the landscape architect who designed some of the gardens at Gartenstadt Marienbrunn in Leipzig and who would go on to become the primary designer of gardens for the Weimar-era Siedlungen in Berlin. The other members of the advisory board according to Schollmeier were Billing, Ratzel and Stürzenacker.



advisory board to oversee the multiple architects involved in the project.<sup>119</sup> For similar reasons, Bruno Taut also oversaw the design of Gartenstadtkolonie Magdeburg-Reform after 1913. At other garden cities, such as Gartenstadt Stockfeld and Mannheim, the organizers worked closely with the city authorities to develop the plans for the buildings. At Mannheim, for example, the garden city organization had to show designs for typical houses to the city council for their approval.<sup>120</sup> Of course, even at Hellerau, where the organizers had devised their own building regulations, the government authorities had some control over the design of the garden city. In an early letter to Riemerschmid, Karl Schmidt requested plans for the factory and the first streets of housing which the municipal authorities needed to approve before the final contract for the land could be concluded.<sup>121</sup> Later, Riemerschmid lamented the building authorities' interference in his design; they forced him to adopt a minimum width of 7.5 meters for the residential streets in instances where he would have preferred 5 to 6 meters.<sup>122</sup>

The artistic advisory boards, where they existed, wielded real power over the design of the garden cities, and letters and the occasional meeting protocol reveal tantalizing clues as to the lively discussions in which the advisors of the garden cities – at Gartenstadt Hellerau and Gartenstadt Nürnberg, in particular – engaged.<sup>123</sup> At Hellerau, the founder, Karl Schmidt,

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<sup>119</sup> “Die Gartenvorstadt Falkenberg bei Berlin,” *Gartenstadt* 7, no. 5 (May 1913): 84. The organizers of Falkenberg included board members of the DGG such as Adolf Otto, indicating a preference for this approach in the national organization, even if they had no power to enforce it.

<sup>120</sup> Schollmeier, 82. The city council at Mannheim also had the power to approve the rents in the garden city. This ensured that the rents remained lower than similar apartments in Mannheim proper so that workers could afford to live there.

<sup>121</sup> Karl Schmidt to Richard Riemerschmid, 11 July 1907 [Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid, I, B-141, Germanisches Nationalmuseum].

<sup>122</sup> R. Riemerschmid to Paul Schlegel, 24 July 1914 [Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid, I, B-143, Germanisches Nationalmuseum].

<sup>123</sup> In all likelihood, similar discussions occurred at other garden cities, but the historical record of those conversations does not exist.

involved himself in the design of the garden city from the very beginning. He sent a letter to Riemerschmid in 1906 in which he laid out the program for the development, beginning with the factory and housing for workers. He intended for stores and communal buildings to follow the construction of housing for an initial one hundred families. Though not an architect, Schmidt had trained as a cabinetmaker, and he informed Riemerschmid that he would draw the initial plan for the factory.<sup>124</sup> Schmidt had a deep interest in contemporary artistic trends stemming from his role as a furniture manufacturer and developed through his participation in the Deutsche Werkbund, which he helped to found. He and Riemerschmid exchanged books and articles on architecture and the applied arts and, especially in the early phases, Schmidt had a very hands-on approach to the design of the houses, even recommending appurtenances for workers' housing or the placement of stairs at the back of a design for a six-family house.<sup>125</sup> Schmidt remained involved in the planning of the garden city and served on the board of directors, although he ceded final control to the artistic advisory board once that entity had been established.<sup>126</sup> Of course, he helped to choose the men who formed the board and considered Riemerschmid, Muthesius and Fischer to be friends. In March of 1908, Schmidt conveyed Fischer's approval of the initial schemes to Riemerschmid, along with some design advice.

The Hellerau area seems to have pleased Fischer greatly, as did your plans, especially the workers' housing and the design for the factory. He thinks that he would not risk the roof on the factory over the office building, and I think you yourself will probably change it when you see it in the model, though why I am not clever enough to explain. It was greatly gratifying that out of his own

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<sup>124</sup> Karl Schmidt to Richard Riemerschmid, 17 September 1906 [Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid, I, B-141, Germanisches Nationalmuseum].

<sup>125</sup> Ibid and Karl Schmidt to Richard Riemerschmid, 17 August 1907 [Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid, I, B-141, Germanisches Nationalmuseum].

<sup>126</sup> It is unclear exactly when the *Bau- und Kunstkommission* first met, but the building regulations that established the commission date to August 31, 1908. Letters between Schmidt and Riemerschmid from the year 1909 reveal that the two men still discussed specifics of the plans for the garden city after the commission had been formed.

architectonic theories and experience, Fischer came to the same conclusion that I did.<sup>127</sup>

This excerpt gives an idea of the serious criticism in which the commission engaged and the power that the committees wielded, although most records of the meetings are lost to posterity.

The business of the advisory board was conducted through personal letters in addition to the official meetings where the members met and assessed the proposed plans for all buildings within the confines of the garden city. Upon leaving the commission in 1913, Muthesius spoke with some frustration about his work with the board, describing hours spent evaluating projects for the garden city and even more hours spent creating an abundance of drawings for work that was never built.<sup>128</sup> Despite Muthesius's assessment, the commission seemed to fulfill its purpose reasonably well for a few years, during which the building society erected many row houses by Riemerschmid, Muthesius and Tessenow. Serious problems began to arise in 1910, however, due to disagreements between Karl Schmidt and Wolf Dohrn over Tessenow's designs for the Dalcroze Institute. Schmidt did not object to a building to house Dalcroze and his pupils but felt that Dohrn endangered the viability of other aspects of the garden city by committing so many resources to the Institute. Marco de Michelis reports that the conflict came to a head when costs for the project soared an additional one and a half million Marks, and Schmidt felt pressured to donate 150,000 Marks to cover part of that cost.<sup>129</sup> For Dohrn, the Dalcroze Institute represented

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<sup>127</sup> Karl Schmidt to Richard Riemerschmid, 30 March 1908 [Riemerschmid Nachlaß, I, B-141, Germanisches Nationalmuseum]. "Fischer scheint das Helleraugebiet sehr gut gefallen zu haben, auch von Ihren Plänen nehme ich es an. Besonders die Arbeiterhäuser und der Fabrikentwurf haben ihm gut gefallen. Er meinte, das Dach an der Fabrik über dem Kontorgebäude würde er nicht riskieren, wenn Sie es im Modell sehen würden, würden Sie es selbst wahrscheinlich auch noch ändern, warum und weshalb bin ich nicht ganz gescheit daraus geworden. Es war für mich eine grosse Freude, dass Fischer selbst rein aus seinem architektonischen Denken und Erfahrungen zu derselben Meinung gekommen ist wie ich."

<sup>128</sup> Hermann Muthesius to Gartenstadt Hellerau, 29 May 1913 [Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid, I, B-143, Germanisches Nationalmuseum].

<sup>129</sup> Marco De Michelis, "Modernity and Reform, Heinrich Tessenow and the Institut Dalcroze at Hellerau," 157.

a crucial element in the cultural renewal that would take place in Hellerau. The controversy would tear the committee apart. Those that sided with Schmidt, including Riemerschmid, worried about the cost and the monumentality of Tessenow's design. Riemerschmid wrote a confidential letter to Friedrich Klose, *Generalmusikdirektor* in Munich, in which he attempted to ascertain the prevailing opinion about Dalcroze's method.<sup>130</sup> He also expressed his worries about the building scheme to Schmidt, fearing that the project lacked clarity in its goals – the size of the audience and the orientation and shape of the stage changed daily – and that any mistake made in the building of the *Festspielhaus* (festival theater) would be a “heavy blow” to Hellerau as a whole.<sup>131</sup> He criticized Tessenow, observing that his rival's excitement concerning the project did not allow him to see clearly, and even went so far as to propose that the *Bau- und Kunstkommission* should decide between Tessenow's design and one of his own.<sup>132</sup>

The controversy proved too much for the *Bau- und Kunstkommission*, in part because it encompassed much more than the design of the *Festspielhaus*. Certainly, Riemerschmid and others felt that Tessenow's monumental classical design would destroy the unity of the garden city by introducing a style and scale of building that clashed with what they had already built.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Richard Riemerschmid to Friedrich Klose, 29 July 1910 [Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid, I, B-142, Germanisches Nationalmuseum]. Klose's first name is not given in the letter but De Michelis identifies his name and position in the article listed in the previous footnote [156].

<sup>131</sup> Richard Riemerschmid to Karl Schmidt, 12 July 1910 [Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid, I, B-142, Germanisches Nationalmuseum]. “Missglücken darf dieser Bau einer Festspielbühne nicht; das wäre ein schwerer Schlag für Hellerau. Umsomehr müssen wir alle dafür sorgen, dass die grösste Gewähr für das Glücken des ganzen Versuches geboten wird. Dazu gehört vor allem vollständige Klarheit über die Ziele, die erreicht werden sollen, und über die Art der ganzen Aufgabe. Dass diese Klarheit aber bis jetzt noch nicht da ist, darüber gibt doch nichts besser Auskunft, als der Hergang in Dresden, wo heute 3 bis 4000 Zuschauer verlangt worden sind, und morgen dann 12 bis 1500, wo heute eine Bühne, viel tiefer als breit, und morgen eine Bühne weniger tief als breit gefordert worden ist....”

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.* This idea never came to fruition, and no evidence of a Riemerschmid design for the Dalcroze Institut exists.

<sup>133</sup> The exact reasons for Tessenow's decision to design in this monumental style are unknown. Marco de Michelis's article “Modernity and Reform, Heinrich Tessenow and the Institut Dalcroze at Hellerau” makes it clear, however, that he was responding to the ideas of Dalcroze and the theater designer Adolphe Appia. Dalcroze aimed to create an educational center that would draw the attention of the world. As such, Tessenow's building was

The controversy had devolved into a fight between Karl Schmidt and Wolf Dohrn over the balance of power within the board of directors and the trajectory of the garden city's development. Schmidt could not stop its construction but did succeed in moving the proposed Tessenow building from the center of the garden city to a site at its margins, thereby limiting its aesthetic impact on the rest of the settlement.<sup>134</sup> However, the intrigue and confrontation eventually led him to resign from the board of directors. Muthesius and Riemerschmid followed his lead and resigned from the *Bau- und Kunstkommission*.<sup>135</sup> Riemerschmid lamented leaving his task unfinished but felt the organization lacked leadership and could not be saved.<sup>136</sup> Dohrn suggested replacing the architects with Hans Pölzig and Josef Hoffmann, but there is no record that either architect ever advised Hellerau.<sup>137</sup> In any case, the outbreak of World War I a year later brought building activity in Hellerau to a halt, postponing the crisis engendered by the breakup of the advisory board.

A different array of problems beset the garden city outside Nürnberg. The board had decided from the beginning that the plan would be divided among three architects: Riemerschmid, H. Lotz and a local architect who would be decided by means of a competition.

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oriented towards a larger audience than just the garden city, justifying its monumental stature. Tessenow also drew on both men's ideas about creating an environment for physical, rhythmic explorations. The proportions of stairs and open spaces were designed with this in mind.

<sup>134</sup> De Michelis, "Modernity and Reform, Heinrich Tessenow and the Institut Dalcroze at Hellerau," 159.

<sup>135</sup> In his article "In the First German Garden City: Tessenow in Hellerau," De Michelis asserts that Riemerschmid and Schmidt resigned from the board in spring of 1913, after Fischer and Muthesius had already resigned [71]. However, in their resignation letters from the *Bau- und Kunstkommission*, both Muthesius and Riemerschmid mention Schmidt's departure from the board [Richard Riemerschmid to Gartenstadt Hellerau, 20 May 1913 and Herman Muthesius to Gartenstadt Hellerau, 29 May 1913, Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid, I, B-143, Germanisches Nationalmuseum].

<sup>136</sup> Richard Riemerschmid to Gartenstadt Hellerau, 20 May 1913 [Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid, I, B-143, Germanisches Nationalmuseum].

<sup>137</sup> Dr. Wolf Dohrn to Gartenstadt Hellerau, June 1913 [Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid, I, B-143, Germanisches Nationalmuseum]. This would suggest an attempt to move away from an architecture based on the vernacular and towards greater abstraction.

Architects submitted designs for that competition in 1911. Almost as soon as the board announced H. Lehr as the winner of the competition, they enlisted the service of three other architects to prepare plans simultaneously. Axel Schollmeier reported on the controversial discussion that occurred in the board meeting convened after the appraisal of the plans by the two building experts hired to provide artistic advice in lieu of an official artistic advisory committee with powers like those conferred on the *Bau- und Kunstkommission* at Hellerau.<sup>138</sup> Despite the board's conviction that H. Lehr's plans lacked artistic originality, they decided to allow him to proceed with the work "in the interests of a thriving collaboration."<sup>139</sup>

Despite the elitist rationale behind the artistic advisory boards, most of the garden city organizers seriously believed that they could create a new, more democratic, society that would privilege the good of the community over individual gain and in which every member would have a voice. This democratic impulse surfaced in many garden cities in the form of questionnaires, which were distributed to the prospective inhabitants. At Hellerau, the workers of the Dresdener Werkstätten für Handwerkskunst answered a series of questions designed to gather information about their living habits and their desired architectural surroundings (Figure 113). For example, would the workers be willing to move to Hellerau? Did they have boarders? How much rent did they currently pay, and how much more would they be willing to pay for better housing? What was the current size and disposition of the rooms of their dwelling and what would their ideal dwelling look like? Did they prefer a *Wohnküche*, the combined kitchen

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<sup>138</sup> Schollmeier, 147.

<sup>139</sup> Protokoll of the Vorst. u. Aufsichtsrat, 15 August 1913, quoted in Schollmeier, 147. One of the experts was A. Lehr, a former member of the board of directors and current architect for the railway in Nürnberg. Schollmeier does not indicate whether H. Lehr and A. Lehr were related though that seems to be implied by the controversial decision reached by the board.

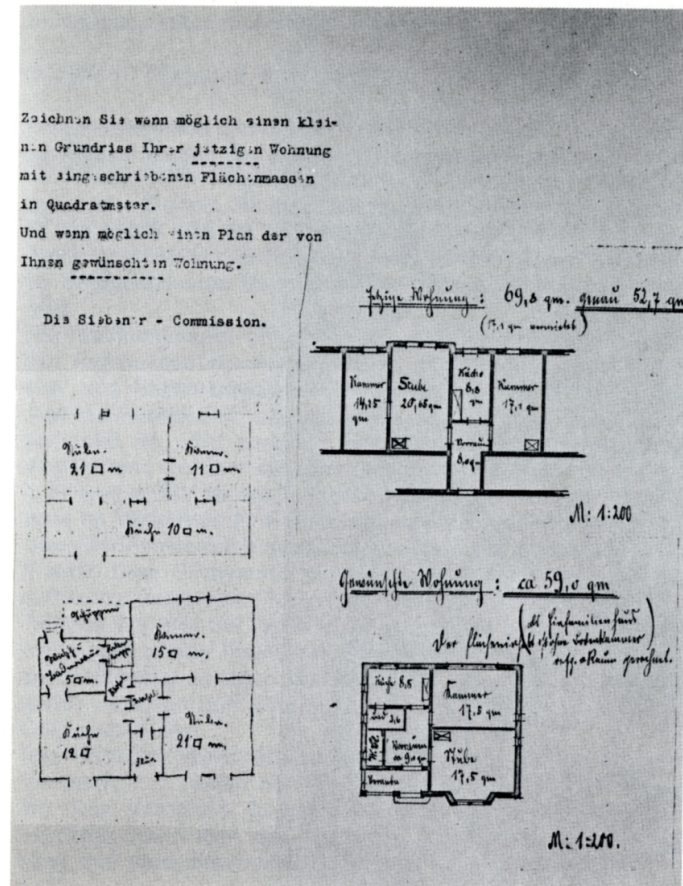


Figure 113. Example of page of Hellerau questionnaire in which the worker drew the layout of his current dwelling (top right) and his desired dwelling (bottom right).

and living area common in many working-class German homes, or a room devoted solely to the preparation of meals?<sup>140</sup> The *Siebener Kommission* (Commission of Seven), formed at the behest of Riemerschmid, prepared the questionnaire and compiled the answers for the edification of Schmidt and the participating architects.<sup>141</sup> Dohrn was the most prominent member of the committee and took on the responsibility of editing the questionnaire after the whole commission

<sup>140</sup> Fragebogen an die Arbeiter der "Dresdener Werkstätten für Handwerkskunst" betreffend die Gründung einer Wohnkolonie in Klotzsche bei Dresden [Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid, I, B-140, Germanisches Nationalmuseum]. See Appendix B for the full questionnaire along with sample answers and a summary of the results.

<sup>141</sup> Franziska Bollerey and Kristiana Hartmann, "A patriarchal utopia: the garden city and housing reform in Germany at the turn of the century" in *The Rise of Modern Urban Planning 1900-1914*, ed. Anthony Sutcliffe (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 153.

had prepared a draft.<sup>142</sup> However, the commission also included an elected representative of the workers to make sure that their preferences were taken into account.<sup>143</sup> The results of the questionnaire had a discernible impact on the housing built at Hellerau, as the building society tried to keep the dwellings within the size and rent requirements that the workers had requested.

Hellerau was not the only garden city to take the desires of the eventual inhabitants into account. Though no copies of the questionnaire exist, Hans Kampffmeyer indicated in *Gartenstadt* that the board of Gartenstadt Karlsruhe created a similar questionnaire and distributed it to the members of the cooperative. The results were provided to the building commission that would approve all construction within the settlement.<sup>144</sup> Likewise, at Gartenstadt Mannheim, polls of its members determined the type of dwellings that would be built. For example, the board limited construction to three-room dwellings in 1912 because the members had expressed the greatest demand for that type of housing.<sup>145</sup>

Beyond that initial input, however, the inhabitants in most garden cities did not have much influence over the design of the dwellings, at least in relation to the workers' housing. At Karlsruhe, the administration complained of the somewhat unrealistic expectations of the future inhabitants who continually came to the building office with special requests for the arrangement of their individual dwellings. Georg Botz, the head of the building office, attributed this trend to

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<sup>142</sup> Otto Geihler to Richard Riemerschmid, 3 December 1906 [Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid, I, B-140, Germanisches Nationalmuseum]. Dohrn was a protégé of Friedrich Naumann, the founder of the Nationalsozialer Verein (National Social Association), and therefore deeply interested in the problems of the working class. His desire to involve the workers in decisions regarding their housing may have stemmed in part from his political convictions.

<sup>143</sup> Joseph August Lux, "Die Gartenstadt Hellerau, Gründung der Deutschen Werkstätten für Handwerkskunst," *Hohe Warte* 3 (1906-1907): 314.

<sup>144</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, excerpt from his lecture entitled "Der Gartenstadtgedanke und seine Verwirklichung bei Karlsruhe" in "Gartenstadt Karlsruhe," *Gartenstadt* 1, no. 3 (1906-1907): 18.

<sup>145</sup> Dr. Otto Moericke, "Mannheim," *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 8 (August 1912): 147.



the fact that the inhabitants contributed significant sums of their own money to the process.<sup>146</sup>

The finances of the organization did not allow Botz to accommodate everyone, but the garden city appeared to allow special privileges to the man they considered their founder. Letters from Hilde Kampffmeyer to her husband reveal that the couple was able to request substantial changes to the plan of their house in Gartenstadt Karlsruhe (Figures 114-115). She wrote about them in great detail:

Dear Hans, your room appears too small to me. Even if only for short sojourns! Likewise, I think it wouldn't do any harm if the porch could be pushed out just a little bit. In the kitchen, a single window will be enough, but I'm still undecided whether it should face north or east. And in the living room are there not too many windows? Did you think of the veranda door as a glass door? In that case, the window over the veranda steps seems superfluous. Where should the oven in my room stand? In front of the sliding door is not really recommended. What is going on with the central heating? Also, I don't see a small veranda for your private use. A little place like that could easily be arranged using a corner created by the porch. Of course, the corner of your room only receives evening sun!

Regarding the upholstered corner bench, you already know my opinion. I don't think that it's very cozy, when the guests have to sit one after another in a row, and we will have to sit that way most evenings. Otherwise the plan is fine and I'm completely in agreement. Only one other thing: it seems that we will not have central heating and in this case, I think the bathroom is too large; it would be difficult to heat. Possibly one could divide the room with a curtain. That would be convenient on account of the toilet space. Say, could one build a small room in the roof later if it is necessary? Incidentally, I find it horrible that we can't talk over everything together! But you have arranged things so well that I have no other important changes to suggest. I had to take a break but perhaps a few other good thoughts will come to me. You shall now have the plans back quickly, so that you can take further steps.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> George Botz, 7.

<sup>147</sup> Hilde Kampffmeyer to Hans Kampffmeyer, April 1911 [*Familienbriefe 1910-1912*]. "Lieber Hans, Dein Zimmer scheint mir sehr klein zu sein. Selbst für nur kurzen Aufenthalt! Ebenso scheint es mir kein Nachteil, wenn der Vorbau noch eine Kleinigkeit rausgerückt werden kann. In der Küche würde ein Fenster genügen, ich bin nur noch unentschieden, ob es nach N oder O zu legen ist. Und sind im Wohnzimmer nicht auch reichlich viel Fenster? Dachtest Du Dir die Verandatür als Glastür? In dem Fall würde das Fenster über dere Verandatreppe überflüssig sein. Wo soll der Ofen in meinem Zimmer stehen? Vor der Schiebetür ist nicht sehr zu empfehlen. Wie ist's denn mit Centralheizung?!! Dann vermisste ich eine kleine Veranda für Deinen Privatgebrauch? So ein Plätzchen ließe sich allerdings leicht in einer durch den Vorbau entstandenen Ecken einrichten. In der Ecke bei Deinem Zimmer ist allerdings nur Abendsonne! Punkto Polstereckbank kennst Du ja meine Meinung. Ich kann es mir nicht so gemütlich denken, wenn man da mit Gästen so nebeneinander aufgereiht sitzt, und da werde wir ja doch wohl meistens abends sitzen. Sonst ist der Grundriß fein und ich bin ganz einverstanden. Nur noch eins: Centralheizung soll's scheinbar nicht geben, und in diesem Falle finde ich das Badezimmer zu groß, es wird zu schwer warm. Eventuell könnte man mit einem Vorhang den Raum teilen, das ist auch wegen des W.C.s ganz angenehm. Sag, kann man im Dach wenn's not tut, noch ein kleines Zimmer später einbauen? Im übrigen finde ich es scheußlich,

Later that month Hilde commented on her satisfaction with the changes that had been made, stating that “this second plan is considerably better than the first,” before going on to suggest a few more alterations to the design.<sup>148</sup>

The German garden city movement participated in many of the general aesthetic trends that dominated German domestic architecture in the first decades of the twentieth century, in particular the preference for vernacular and *um 1800* classicism. Two things become clear when one studies the movement as a whole, however: the first is that an exception exists for every rule concerning the aesthetics of the movement. The second is how little control the DGG had over the aesthetic decisions made in each garden city. This lack of control was an artifact of the leadership’s decision to focus on founding local chapters. The DGG could advocate for general attitudes towards architectural design, but the tastes of the individual garden city administrations and of local city planning officers had a much greater effect on the aesthetics of settlements. Additionally, the DGG’s unwillingness to alienate any segment of their membership or to criticize the architecture of a venture that otherwise conformed to the economic and social goals of the movement further diminished the power of the central organization to control the aesthetics of the movement or to push for real innovation.

Some evidence does exist, however, regarding the preferences of the board of the DGG. In general, they admired the simplest, most abstract – and arguably the most innovative – architecture produced by the movement, namely the buildings designed by Tessenow and Taut.

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daß wir das alles nicht zusammen besprechen können! Aber Du hast Deine Sache so fein gemacht, daß ich gar keine wesentliche Änderung vorzuschlagen habe. Ich habe mir eine Pause gemacht, vielleicht kommt mir noch der eine oder andere gute Gedanke. Jetzt sollst Du den Plan schnell zurückhaben, damit Du weitere Schritte tun kannst. –”

<sup>148</sup> Hilde Kampffmeyer to Hans Kampffmeyer, 20 April 1911 [*Familienbriefe 1910-1912*]. “Dieser zweite Plan ist ganz bedeutend besser als der erste.”



Figure 114. Garden view of the Kampffmeyer House, Gartenstadt Karlsruhe.

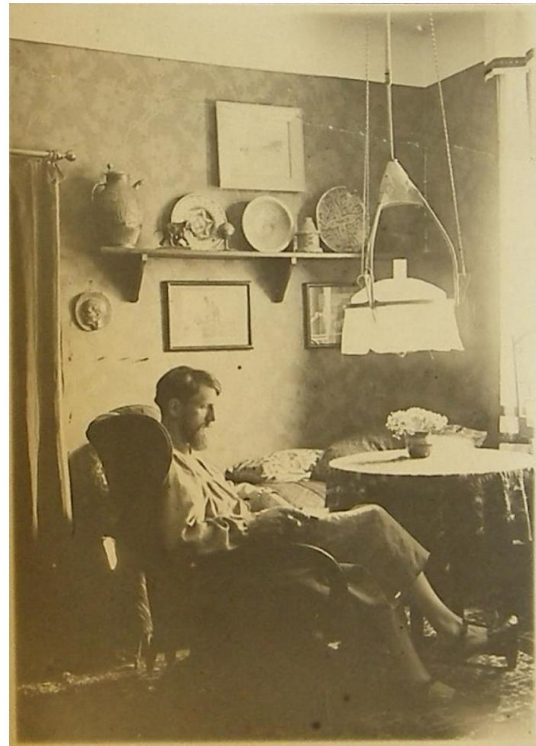


Figure 115. Hans Kampffmeyer reading in a room in their house in Gartenstadt Karlsruhe. A note attached to photograph by his daughter states that the photographer must have been standing in the door to her nursery.

Their preferences can be inferred from their hiring decisions and from the infrequent recommendations of architects' work in the pages of their magazine. When deciding upon an architect for Gartenstadt Falkenberg, the only garden city started under the direct auspices of the DGG, the board of the garden city first hired Hans Bernoulli, who also collaborated with Hans Kampffmeyer on the original plan for Gartenstadt Kolonie-Reform in Magdeburg. Taut entered the picture when Bernoulli moved to Basel, and his work was enthusiastically described in the pages of *Gartenstadt*. Tessenow was the only other garden city architect whose work was repeatedly singled out for praise in the pages of *Gartenstadt*. Kampffmeyer, in his review of Tessenow's *Der Wohnhausbau*, stated that "we would emphatically refer our friends to the work of this architect."<sup>149</sup> Likewise, Emil Behnisch enthusiastically described the *sachlich* character of the small dwellings Tessenow created for Gartenstadt Hellerau. Behnisch argued that in other, less competent, hands, the complete lack of decoration might lead the housing to look like military barracks. Tessenow, however, turned economic necessity and aesthetic principle into refined dwellings of "enchanting" comfort and charm.<sup>150</sup> Even more revealing is the fact that Kampffmeyer privately recommended Tessenow to Wilhelm Eckstein, a member of Gartenstadt Nürnberg's board of directors, stating that, "in his opinion, Tessenow had built the best workers' houses in Hellerau."<sup>151</sup> The architecture of Taut and Tessenow possessed superficial similarities such as extreme simplification of form. However, their motivations for creating that form and

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<sup>149</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, "Bücher, »Der Wohnhausbau«,» 9. "Und wir möchten unsere Freunde auch auf diesen Architekten nachdrücklichst hinweisen"

<sup>150</sup> Emil Behnisch, "Rundschau. Hellerau," *Gartenstadt* 5, no. 5 (May 1911): 57. "...sondern durch Tessenows Künstlerhand zu feinem, charaktervollen Reiz, zu einer in ihrer Einfachheit entzückend anheimelnden Wohnlichkeit gestaltet wurde...."

<sup>151</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer to Wilhelm Eckstein, 8 August 1910. Letter inserted into the copy of *Aus englischen Gartenstädten* found in the archives of Gartenstadt Nürnberg. "Für den Fall dass Sie auch mit Riemerschmid und Prof. v. Belepsch noch mit anderen Architekten den zusammenarbeiten wollen, empfehle ich sehr H. Tessenow der meines Erachtens die besten Arbeiterhäuser in Hellerau gebaut hat." This was in direct contrast to the inhabitants, who according to Marco De Michelis, intensely disliked Tessenow's bare designs ["In the First German Garden City: Tessenow in Hellerau," 66].

the possibilities for its further development varied greatly. Tessenow attempted to create essential or *Ur*-forms in his housing, repeatedly using pure geometric shapes like squares and triangles. Success in his stated endeavor resulted in something static and did not leave room for the evolution of new forms.<sup>152</sup> Taut also simplified the volumes of his buildings, but he possessed a greater tolerance for “impure” forms. He allowed more variety in the pitch of his roofs and the proportion of his facades and was occasionally willing to soften the stark impression of his buildings with color, eyebrow dormers, or asymmetrically arranged windows. This made it easier for Taut to develop beyond what he created for the garden cities. While the work of Taut and Tessenow represented only one facet of the architectural output of the garden city movement before 1914, the extreme simplification of the house form and the elimination of extraneous decoration espoused by both architects would become standard in many garden cities – and in the Weimar-era housing settlements inspired by the movement – as Germany struggled to address the housing crisis created by World War I.

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<sup>152</sup> It is exactly this inflexibility that caused K. Michael Hays to label Tessenow’s work “proto-fascist,” despite the fact that Tessenow was an outspoken critic of the Nazis [“Tessenow’s Architecture as National Allegory: Critique of Capitalism or Protofascism?” *Assemblage*, no. 8 (February 1989): 105, 122].

## Chapter 7

### Post-War Adaptations of the Garden City Ideal

World War I constituted a fundamental break in the activities of the Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft as well as a crisis in German culture more broadly. Shortages of capital, building materials and labor stopped construction in garden cities across the country with the exception of Gartenstadt Staaken, which the *Reichsamt des Innern* (Interior Ministry) built to house workers from the state-run munitions factory in nearby Spandau.<sup>1</sup> Reactions to the war varied widely among the leading figures of the movement, although they reached a general consensus that the garden city, more than ever, represented a form of salvation for the country. In many respects, the DGG returned to its original ideals, emphasizing the need to create fully-fledged garden cities that contained the important elements that their pre-war endeavors lacked: namely industry and agriculture.

The war also made the need for self-sufficiency even more urgent, especially with regard to food production, as advocated earlier by men such as Peter Kropotkin. The editors of the DGG's publications repeatedly recommended that their members read Kropotkin's *Landwirtschaft, Industrie und Handwerk (Fields, Factories and Workshops)*, although they also acknowledged that economists across the political spectrum had encouraged Germany to stop relying on other nations for the provision of basic necessities.<sup>2</sup> With intensive agriculture and

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<sup>1</sup> Fritz Stahl, "Die Gartenstadt Staaken," in *Die Gartenstadt Staaken von Paul Schmitthenner* (Berlin: Verlag von Ernst Wasmuth, [1918]), 9 and "Geschäftsbericht für das Vereinsjahr 1915/16," *Gartenstadt* 8, no. 11 (October 1916): 234. Ronald Wiedenhoef reports that the construction of Staaken could proceed during this time of upheaval because "the ministry purchased the land, provided it with utilities, leased it to its own building cooperative at a mere two percent of the value, and also made funds for building available at low interest rates" [*Berlin's Housing Revolution: German Reform in the 1920s*. Architecture and Urban Design, ed. Stephen C. Foster, no. 16 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985), 55].

<sup>2</sup> Kropotkin's book was listed directly under Howard's own book as recommended reading at the back of the DGG's 1915 publication *Unseren Kriegsinvaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlungen*. In "Aufgaben über

the introduction of small factories and cottage industries, the DGG believed that each garden city could support itself, trading with other settlements to acquire luxury goods and any necessities it could not produce. While Kropotkin was perhaps the major source of inspiration, Bernhard Kampffmeyer also read Henry Ford after the war, paying special attention to the American's ideas concerning the mechanization and vertical integration of industry. In Ford's practical treatises, which advocated for comparatively small workshops to produce components needed for larger industrial concerns, Kampffmeyer discerned opportunities for the smaller factories and cottage industries crucial to the success of the garden cities.<sup>3</sup> Kampffmeyer and his compatriots believed that the self-sufficiency of individual communities would eventually lead to the self-sufficiency of the nation. In this regard, of course, the garden city advocates diverged from Kropotkin's anarchist ideals, as the Russian writer never intended his theories to be pressed into the service of a nation-state.

The proponents of independence in food production and trade were reacting to the privations and financial insecurity resulting from the war, but an exploration of their rationales reveals complex, and sometimes contradictory, political motivations. For some, it was a way to ensure the strength of Germany's fighting forces and economy should future conflicts arise, and for others, who viewed colonialism and the striving for raw materials as one of the main causes of war, turning inward provided a means of preventing international conflict.<sup>4</sup> Once again, the

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Aufgaben," however, Bernhard Kampffmeyer listed Kropotkin alongside Jules Méline and v. Putlitz [*Gartenstadt* 8, no. 9 (January 1915): 162].

<sup>3</sup> Bernard Kampffmeyer, "Henry Ford: 'Das große Heute und das größere Morgen,'" *Gartenstadt* 11, no. 3 (May/June 1927): 61-62. In this review of Ford's book, Kampffmeyer explored the parallels with Kropotkin's ideas as well as the substantial differences relating to the place of handicraft and industrial production.

<sup>4</sup> Bernard Kampffmeyer expressed both of these views in a pair of articles in a single volume of *Gartenstadt*. "Aufgaben über Aufgaben" and "Gartenstadt und Wirtschaftspolitik," *Gartenstadt* 8, no. 9 (January 1915): 163.

DGG managed to embrace seemingly conflicting viewpoints in the service of its larger goal, the creation of garden cities across Germany.

The DGG maintained its basic principles in the decades after the start of the First World War but reframed its propaganda to take advantage of three major trends in urban planning and social policy: the provision of housing for war invalids and widows, the reinterpretation of the war monument, and the emphasis on regional planning and satellite cities. As early as January of 1915, the DGG published articles calling for the inclusion, within garden cities, of housing for injured soldiers or those they left behind while fighting at the various fronts. Later that same year Hermann Salomon – a long time board member of the DGG who had previously written about the hygienic benefits of life in garden cities – authored a comprehensive exploration of the topic, entitled *Unseren Kriegsinvaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlungen* (Homes and Workshops for our War Invalids in Garden Settlements). Salomon's book elucidated the benefits to the returning soldiers and society as a whole, explained possible funding mechanisms and provided richly-illustrated case studies of proposals made by various garden cities. Nationalism and a sense of duty inspired other organizations with similar goals to propose comparable schemes.<sup>5</sup> A month after the DGG published Salomon's book, the Deutscher Verein für Wohnungsreform (German Association for Housing Reform) and a number of provincial land societies lead by the Gesellschaft zur Förderung der inneren Kolonisation (Society for the Advancement of Inner-Colonization) petitioned the *Reichstag* to support the resettlement of war invalids by allowing them to use part of their pensions to purchase homes, especially in low-

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<sup>5</sup> In fact, the DGG and these other organizations borrowed the idea of providing returning veterans with homesteads from Adolf Damaschke's *Kriegerheimstättenbewegung*. [Ronald Wiedenhoft, 9]. In his book *Friedenstadt*, Hans Kampffmeyer acknowledged Damaschke's success in this arena [Hans Kampffmeyer, *Friedenstadt: Ein Deutsches Kriegsdenkmal* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1918): 14].



density areas at the outskirts of cities or in the territories to the east.<sup>6</sup> Salomon and the DGG also proposed using portions of the soldiers' and widows' pensions to help fund housing in garden cities, arguing that the cooperative societies already in place would allow good quality housing to be constructed efficiently and affordably.<sup>7</sup>

The DGG proposed two basic housing variants for returning soldiers based on their marital status and the degree of their injuries. Salomon and the others who addressed this topic in the pages of *Gartenstadt* were careful to acknowledge that not all disabilities were visible to the naked eye. These writers asserted that a great number of veterans would suffer from internal injuries and nervous disorders that could be just as debilitating as the more obvious loss or maiming of limbs.<sup>8</sup> The most severely injured, who required constant nursing care, as well as unmarried soldiers with lesser injuries would be housed in an *Invalidenheim* (home for invalids), which was also occasionally referred to in the literature as a *Ledigenheim* or housing for singles.

The authors suggested that the *Invalidenheime* be integrated into the heart of the garden cities so as to prevent the social isolation of the inhabitants. Despite the relatively large scale of these buildings, which could house 50 to 100 inhabitants, the garden city architects remained committed to the low-rise ideals of the movement. The old arguments against the *Mietskaserne* resurfaced, only this time the authors conjured images of wounded soldiers warehoused in massive buildings in the city, without access to nature, light, air or the life of the community that

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<sup>6</sup> Emil Behnisch, "Die teilweise Kapitalisierung der Rente bei Kriegsinvaliden und Kriegerwitwen," *Gartenstadt* 8, no. 10 (September 1915): 194-195. Two months earlier, workers and salaried employees from across the political spectrum had banded together to form the *Hauptausschuß für Kriegerheimstätten* or Main Committee for Soldiers' Homesteads. This committee also worked to pass a law that would make public funds available to help returning soldiers purchase homes with gardens. [Hermann Salomon, *Unseren Kriegsinvaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlungen: Denkschrift der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft über den Dienst des Vaterlandes an den Kriegsinvaliden und den Hinterbliebenen der gefallenen Krieger* (Leipzig: Renaissance-Verlag, 1915), 28.]

<sup>7</sup> Paul Helbeck, "Unseren Kriegsinvaliden ein gartenstädtisches Heim!" *Gartenstadt* 8, no. 9 (January 1915): 173-174.

<sup>8</sup> Salomon, *Unseren Kriegsinvaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlungen*, 6 and Bernhard Kampffmeyer, "Unsern Invaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlungen," *Gartenstadt* 8, no. 10 (September 1915): 186.

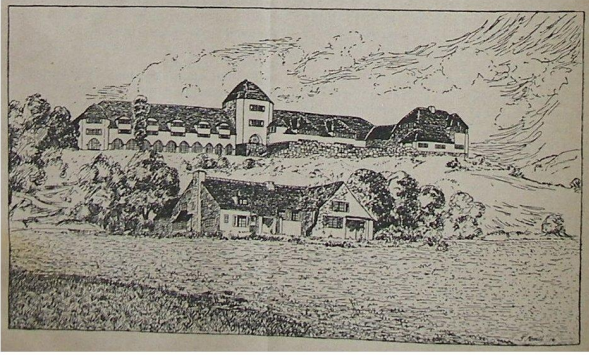
would be possible in the garden cities and which they argued were crucial components of the healing process. In contrast, the invalid homes in the garden cities would be no more than two stories high, as the stairs in taller buildings presented an impediment to those with limited powers of movement, and would provide direct access to surrounding gardens, allowing even bedridden inhabitants to experience the movement of the sun and the changing of the seasons.<sup>9</sup>

The designs for invalid homes by Bruno Taut for Gartenstadt Falkenberg, Theodor Merrill for Gartensiedlung Gronauer Wald and Jacobus Göttel for Gartenvorstadt Bonn that were published in Salomon's book recalled medieval cloisters or Fourier's Phalanstère (Figures 116-121). Many of the buildings possessed a monumental central pavilion that accommodated communal spaces such as the dining room, reading room and workshops. Subordinate wings containing individual apartments surrounded expansive courtyards, with covered arcades connecting the various elements and protecting the inhabitants from inclement weather. The illustrations, published in 1915, reveal that the architects did not deviate from the vernacular and classical traditions common in the garden cities prior to the war. For example, Taut connected his invalid home to the rest of Gartenstadt Falkenberg through an axially arranged *Hof* (court) similar to his design for the nearby Akazienhof. Less severely injured veterans and their families were meant to inhabit the row houses framing the cul-de-sac, and Bruno Taut's *Ledigenheim* could be transformed into single-family apartments when the building was no longer needed as housing for severely injured soldiers. Officials at Gartensiedlung Gronauer Wald also planned a low-rise, single-family community for veterans, as revealed by the single-family home in the foreground of Figure 116.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Salomon, *Unseren Kriegsinvaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlungen*, 13-14 and Helbeck, 173.

<sup>10</sup> Salomon, *Unseren Kriegsinvaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlungen*, 58 and Emil Behnisch, "Einige baulich-organisatorische Bemerkungen zu Paul Helbecks Vorschlag," *Gartenstadt* 8, no. 9 (January 1915): 176.



Figures 116-117. Theodor Merrill, unbuilt project for an *Invalidenheim*, Gartensiedlung Gronauer Wald, ca. 1915. Notice the arcaded galleries surrounding the inner courtyard. The double height portion to the left of the stairs housed workshops and other communal functions.

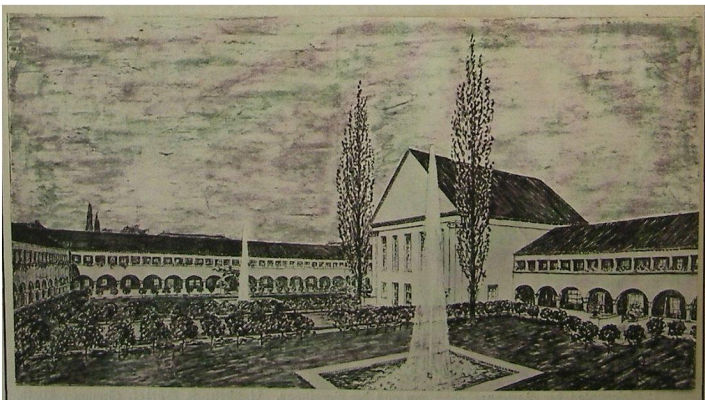
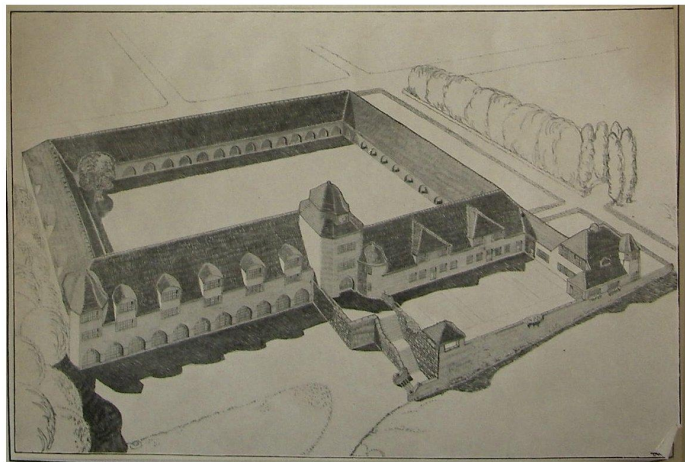
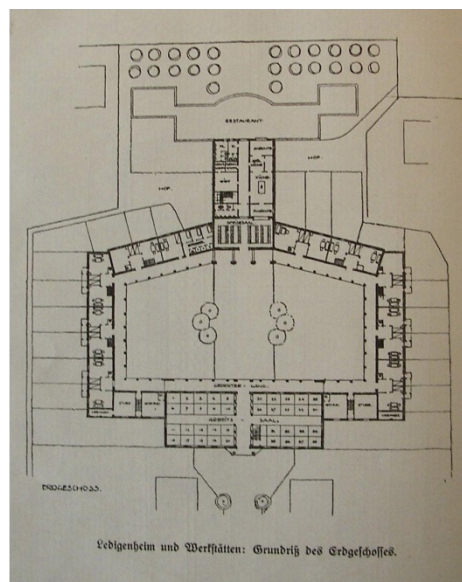


Figure 118. Jacobus Göttel, unbuilt project for a *Ledigenheim*, Gartenvorstadt Bonn, ca. 1915. The central pavilion bears a striking resemblance to Heinrich Tessenow's *Festspielhaus* in Hellerau.



Figures 119-120. Bruno Taut, unbuilt project for a *Ledigenheim* and row houses, Gartenstadt Falkenberg, ca. 1915. The workshops are located in the central pavilion with rooms for the invalids surrounding the courtyard. The row houses would accommodate less severely injured soldiers.



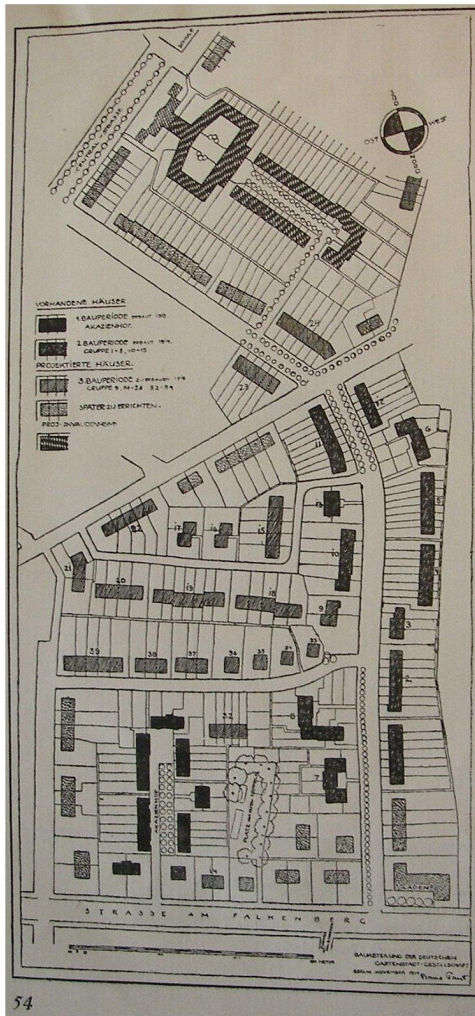


Figure 121. This plan reveals how Taut intended to integrate housing for war invalids into the existing plan for Gartenstadt Falkenberg.

The DGG wanted to do more than simply provide housing for veterans, however; they wanted to help the invalids return to a productive life. The ability to work represented an important component of that equation, and the DGG devoted a considerable amount of time and effort to promoting *Heimarbeit* or cottage industry after the war. Many injured soldiers could not physically tolerate a full day in a factory, but the flexible work hours and arrangements of cottage industry could allow them to continue to provide for their families.<sup>11</sup> The DGG argued that garden cities had an edge over metropolitan regions here as well.

They could easily provide well-lit, modern workspaces in a number of forms, either as small workshops attached to the freestanding dwellings of married workers or as larger cooperative workshops in the *Invalidenheime* or other communal buildings. The

DGG did not intend to limit these facilities to invalids and consequently invited widows and other members of the community who could not work in traditional industrial ventures to use them.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps inspired by the success of the

Gemeinnützige Obstbau-Siedlung Eden, Salomon and Helbeck, along with the leaders of

<sup>11</sup> Salomon, *Unseren Kriegsinvaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlungen*, 11.

<sup>12</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer reported on a cooperative called “Familienhilfe,” which was associated with Gartenstadt Karlsruhe, though not funded by them, and aimed to provide workshops and child care for widows [“Rundschau, Karlsruhe,” *Gartenstadt* 8, no. 10 (September 1915): 203-204.].

Gartensiedlung Gronauer Wald, envisioned canning facilities in some of these workshops to make use of the yield from cooperatively run orchards.<sup>13</sup> This particular activity would allow for beneficial work outdoors and would also incorporate the talents of the widows, although the preparation of preserves and juices would not be limited to women.

The war and the emphasis on work for returning soldiers revealed a nationalism occasionally verging on xenophobia in the ranks of the DGG. Writers such as Emil Behnisch and Hermann Salomon emphasized the idea of inner colonization, especially in the eastern portions of the German empire, as a way of resettling areas destroyed by the war and providing land for injured soldiers.<sup>14</sup> Implicit in this discussion was the idea of claiming these disputed territories more securely for Germany. These ideas were not new; long before the war, Bernhard Kampffmeyer had spoken of strengthening the German population in the eastern provinces in relation to the Polish. He hoped that the Prussian government would be able to purchase or, if resistance was too strong, expropriate most of the Polish estates and redistribute them to German settlers.<sup>15</sup> Surprisingly, these colonial attitudes were less starkly expressed after the war, although the frequency with which the members of the DGG espoused inner colonization increased significantly.

Nationalism also reared its head in relation to foreign workers within Germany's borders. Salomon decried the existence of approximately 800,000 foreign workers, accusing them of "taking bread from the mouths of Germans" and "depressing the standard of living for the wider

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<sup>13</sup>Salomon, *Unseren Kriegsinvaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlungen*, 26 and 36 and Helbeck, 173.

<sup>14</sup> Salomon, *Unseren Kriegsinvaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlungen*, 17, 27 and 31 and Emil Behnisch, "Die teilweise Kapitalisierung der Rente bei Kriegsinvaliden und Kriegerwitwen," *Gartenstadt* 8, no. 10 (September 1915): 195.

<sup>15</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, "Die innere Kolonisation. Ihre wirtschaftlichen Ziele und Erfolge," *Gartenstadt* 4, no. 3 (March 1910): 29-30.

circle of workers.”<sup>16</sup> He went so far as to suggest that the removal of foreign workers was necessary to make Germany truly independent and that this tactic was an important component of reorganizing the workforce to accommodate returning veterans.<sup>17</sup> Bernard Kampffmeyer framed similar sentiments in a much more benign way when he predicted that the war would lead to a lack of foreign workers in the near future. He described this deficit as potentially beneficial due to the need to find work for returning soldiers but never advocated actively removing foreigners from Germany.<sup>18</sup>

While members of the DGG may have disagreed about the role of the *Reich* in immigration policy, they agreed that the national government had a responsibility to help settle returning veterans, especially the injured. They acknowledged the financial instability of the government but argued that injured soldiers could apply portions of their government pensions to help fund the *Invalidenheime* and single-family housing. They also recommended that the government guarantee second mortgages, which were otherwise increasingly hard to obtain. Their proposals took existing legislation as a model, particularly a law passed on May 18, 1914, which guaranteed mortgages for small dwellings to those serving in the military.<sup>19</sup> Despite the practical models for their endeavors, the DGG could not escape the criticisms that had arisen before the war. The *Berliner Tageblatt* expressed the views of many when they attacked the DGG for “blind optimism” and a naïve belief that enthusiasm alone could raise the money

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<sup>16</sup> Salomon, *Unseren Kriegsinvaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlungen*, 9. “...das nämlich in Deutschland alljährlich etwa 800 000 Ausländer in Landwirtschaft und Industrie Arbeit und Verdienst finden, welche nicht nur der gleichen Zahl eigner Volksgenossen geradezu das Brot vom Mund wegnehmen, sondern auch infolge ihrer niederen Lebenshaltung allgemein das soziale Niveau weiter Arbeitskreise herabdrücken.”

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, “Unsern Invaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlungen,” 188.

<sup>19</sup> Salomon, *Unseren Kriegsinvaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlungen*, 29-31. The law was referred to as the “Gesetz betr. Bürgschaften des Reiches zur Förderung des Baues von Kleinwohnungen für Reichs- und Militärbedienstete.”

necessary for their schemes.<sup>20</sup> At the other end of the spectrum, the property owners' organizations argued against the *Invalidenheim* out of purported concern for the well-being of the invalids to be housed there. According to Bernhard Kampffmeyer, their real motivation continued to be the fear that cooperative endeavors would undermine private property, which they viewed as the foundation of the state.<sup>21</sup>

The DGG also envisioned the creation of a new garden city as a living war monument. The kernel of this idea can be found as early as 1915 in an essay by Bruno Taut, entitled "Krieger-Ehrung" (Soldier-Tribute), at the end of Salomon's book, *Unseren Kriegsinvaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlung*. Taut argued that older monuments such as triumphal arches and even the war memorials of more recent conflicts such as the *Gründerzeit* no longer satisfied the conditions of contemporary life. In keeping with the spirit of the larger publication of which his essay formed a part, Taut proposed homes and workshops for invalids as a fitting tribute to those wounded in the war.<sup>22</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer expanded upon Taut's basic idea three years later in *Friedenstadt: Ein Deutsches Kriegsdenkmal* (City of Peace: A German War Memorial), proposing a whole new garden city as a monument to the war. Perhaps due to the scale of the suffering wrought by the conflict, Kampffmeyer too felt that the old styles of monument were insufficient. Rather than dedicate a dead stone monument to triumphs on the battlefield or to the lives lost in various offensives, he proposed celebrating the best elements of human nature – "the self-sacrifice and mutual aid" engendered "by the dangers of the time" – in

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<sup>20</sup> "Preßstimmen zu unserer Denkschrift," *Gartenstadt* 8, no. 10 (September 1915): 188.

<sup>21</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, "Isolierte Ansiedlung von Kriegsinvaliden!" *Gartenstadt* 8, no. 10 (September 1915): 189.

<sup>22</sup> Bruno Taut, "Krieger-Ehrung," in Salomon, *Unseren Kriegsinvaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlungen*, 76-77.



a living city.<sup>23</sup> In this, the DGG participated in a general trend for more affirmative and less monumental memorials. Leberecht Migge, for example, proposed creating *Jugendparks* (youth parks) to celebrate the contributions of soldiers. The youth parks by their very nature represented living monuments in which the youth of the nation could find spiritual and physical renewal, especially in urban centers. He envisioned a national law creating youth park organizations around the country and argued that having the young men and women build the parks themselves would reduce costs and help forge a stronger connection to their creations.<sup>24</sup>

Like the garden cities that preceded it, Kampffmeyer proposed a number of mechanisms to defray the costs of *Friedenstadt*, which he put into perspective as equaling the cost of waging war for two hours.<sup>25</sup> Wealthy citizens could show their support for the endeavor through donations. Municipalities could provide inexpensive land, and the *Landesversicherungsanstalten* (national insurance institutions), along with national and local savings banks could provide mortgages on reasonable terms. Even more ingeniously, Kampffmeyer imagined national organizations contributing a single building related to their mission: the electrical industry could fund the construction of an electrical plant; cities could band together to fund the city hall; doctors could fund a hospital; and artists of all types could provide the artistic emblems of national consensus and cooperation. Inevitably, the reliance on donations left Kampffmeyer

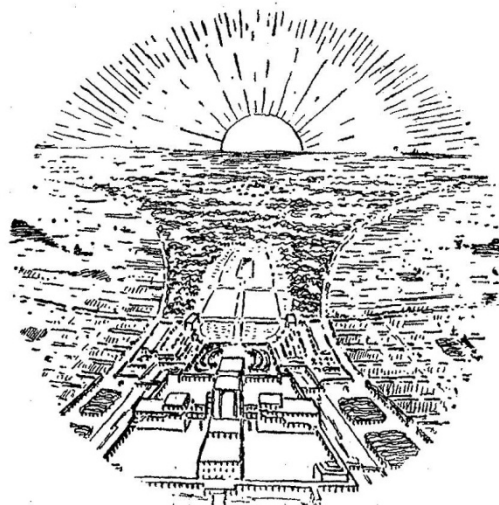
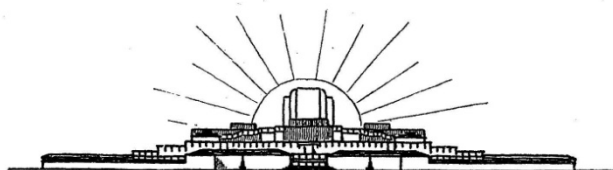
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<sup>23</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, *Friedenstadt*, 9-11. The idea of a living monument was in the air at this time. In July of 1919, at a congress of the International Garden Cities Association, Ebenezer Howard proposed the creation of a Belgian garden city, financed by private, international donations, which would represent the healing of wounds inflicted by the war and would counter the mistrust engendered by the brutal conflict. It would also provide a model for European planning. [Stanley Buder, *Visionaries and Planners: The Garden City Movement and the Modern Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 143].

<sup>24</sup> «»Jugendparks als Kriegerdank!« ist ein Ruf des bekannten Gartenarchitekten Leberecht Migge-Hamburg,» *Gartenstadt* 8, no. 11 (October 1916): 238.

<sup>25</sup> Kampffmeyer, *Friedenstadt*, 30. Here and in a later publication, *Grünflächenpolitik und Gartenstadtbewegung*, Kampffmeyer figured that it would cost approximately 10 to 15 Million Marks to get the enterprise off the ground.

Figures 122-123. Bruno Taut, drawings from *Die Stadtkrone*, 1919, showing the crystal *Volkshaus* at the center of the city.



open to the same criticisms of naïve utopian thinking that had been leveled at Salomon's proposals for housing war invalids.

Kampffmeyer's project borrowed elements from many other movements and sources. Like Salomon, Damaschke and a host of others, he envisioned injured soldiers finding homes and work in Friedenstadt.<sup>26</sup> Like Bruno Taut in *Die Stadtkrone* (*The City Crown*), which was published a year later in 1919, Kampffmeyer envisioned a great *Volkshaus* (People's House) as the cultural and social center of the city where the inhabitants could come for lectures, meetings, or simply to read or meditate (Figures 122-123). Unlike Taut, he cared little for the aesthetic representation of that *Volkshaus*, largely because he believed that the communal spirit of Friedenstadt, under the guidance of an advisory committee of artists, would find a suitable architectural expression for the *Volkshaus* and the city as a whole.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps most interesting

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 26.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 33. Taut, on the other hand, desired that his crystalline city crown would be the expression of a newly coherent society, just as cathedrals had been in the middle ages. He envisioned a city, also based on garden city ideas, in which all architecture was imbued with a yet-to-be-discerned common artistic and spiritual feeling. His city crown would provide the physical representation of the *Zeitgeist* [Taut, *Die Stadtkrone*. 1919. Reprint. Nendeln /Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1977, 55-57]. Hans Kampffmeyer seemed to feel that the mutual aid and

was his adaption of Howard's idea of the Social City (Figure 124). Howard envisioned a ring of garden cities surrounding a metropolis such as London. Each city would be self-sufficient but linked to the others and to the central metropolis through efficient rail transportation. The garden cities would relieve some of the pressure on the metropolis in terms of housing and work, thereby helping to fix the most pressing problems of the existing city.<sup>28</sup> Kampffmeyer modified Howard's concept of the Social City by placing Friedenstadt at the center, replacing the old metropolis and its accompanying problems with a garden city and the outer circle of self-sufficient garden cities with garden suburbs.<sup>29</sup> The garden suburbs were seen as a way of allowing for the controlled growth of Friedenstadt, which in itself was to be approximately three times as large as Howard's original concept.<sup>30</sup> Kampffmeyer's conception of the garden suburbs as satellites of Friedenstadt, largely self-sufficient yet intimately connected to the central city, also reflected a shift in the DGG's thinking as the organization began to emphasize regional planning to a much greater extent than it had before the war.

The DGG resumed their propaganda in 1925 after approximately a decade of inactivity.<sup>31</sup> They began to publish *Gartenstadt* again and partnered with similarly oriented organizations – the Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz (German Federation for Homeland Preservation), the

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cooperation present in Friedenstadt represented that spiritual feeling for which Taut searched and which would find its appropriate expression because the architects would be fully engaged with the goals of the project. It is difficult to determine the direction of influence between Taut's and Kampffmeyer's ideas. Kampffmeyer almost certainly read Taut's essay in Salomon's book, but Taut also mentions *Friedenstadt* as a source of inspiration in a footnote on page 81 of *Die Stadtkrone*.

<sup>28</sup> Howard, *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, 154-156.

<sup>29</sup> Kampffmeyer, *Friedenstadt*, 21-22.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, 16. Kampffmeyer anticipated a population of 80,000 to 100,000 inhabitants for Friedenstadt, while Howard always capped the population of the garden city at 30,000.

<sup>31</sup> The finances of the DGG were so precarious that they had borrowed money from Gartenstadt Falkenberg to stay afloat. They were finally able to repay the money in 1924 due to the generosity of an anonymous donor ["Geschäftsbericht," *Gartenstadt* 10, no. 1 (April 1925): 15].

Deutscher Verein für Wohnungsreform (German Organization for Housing Reform), the Deutsches Archiv für Siedlungswesen (German Archive for Settlement) and Migge's Siedlerschule Worpswede (Settler School in Worpswede) – to bring attention to the pressing need for new housing settlements and to advocate for legal and other reforms that would facilitate the creation of those settlements. Hans Kampffmeyer and others acknowledged the limitations of the garden cities built before the war, asserting that only Hellerau came close to the essence of a true garden city, though even that endeavor remained too small to fully qualify.<sup>32</sup> Hellerau did, however, incorporate industry through the Deutsche Werkstätte, thereby coming closer to the English models such as Letchworth and Welwyn. The DGG now wanted to create what they had not been able to build the first time around: fully-fledged, completely self-sufficient garden cities with low-density housing. They reframed the garden city debate in terms of the newly fashionable concept of the satellite city, imagining it as a tool that cities could use to develop in an intelligent manner.

A number of other urban planning trends account for the DGG's shift away from the minutia of planning the individual garden cities and towards the integration of garden cities into regional plans. Among the most important factors in the shift in the DGG's thinking was the 1924 International Town Planning Congress in Amsterdam organized by the International Garden-Cities and Town Planning Federation in cooperation with the Holländischen Vereins für Wohnungswesen und Städtebau (Dutch Organization for Housing and City Planning). German and Dutch delegates at this conference proposed a resolution that met with instant approval because it concisely expressed the concerns of many city planning advocates and professionals.

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<sup>32</sup> Hans Kampffmeyer, *Grünflächenpolitik und Gartenstadtbewegung*. Schriften der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft (Berlin-Friedenau: Deutscher Kommunal-Verlag, 1926), 16 and C. B. Purdom, *The Building of Satellite Towns: A Contribution to the Study of Town Development and Regional Planning* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd), 1925.

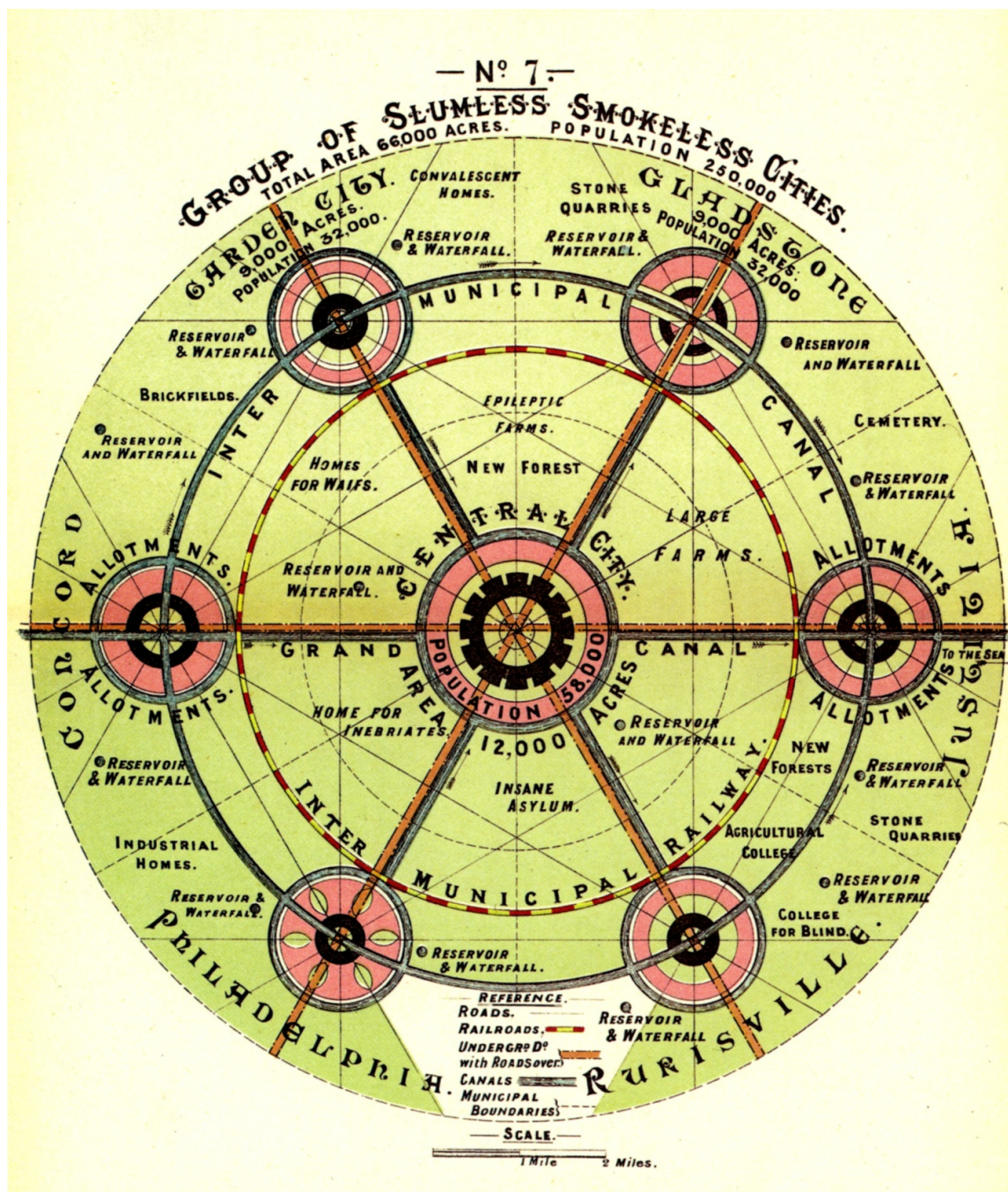


Figure 124. Ebenezer Howard, Social City Diagram from *To-Morrow: A Path to Real Reform*, 1898. The garden cities ring the existing metropolis but are entirely self-sufficient. This diagram was removed from the 1902 edition and replaced with a more limited diagram showing the development of Adelaide. Adelaide was a city in Australia, which Howard admired and which expanded in the way he advocated, namely by respecting the boundaries of the initial city and creating new areas on the other side of a greenbelt.

The delegates decried the unlimited and uncontrolled expansion of cities, which, as they needed more land, simply tacked on additional suburbs in an ever-expanding ring around the original city. They proposed limiting the size of cities through permanent green belts and encouraging decentralization through the creation of satellite cities.<sup>33</sup> A carefully elaborated regional plan would prove crucial to the success of decentralization efforts and would allow for the retention and creation of green spaces in addition to built areas, with special attention paid to traffic and zoning.<sup>34</sup>

C. B. Purdom, author of *Building Satellite Towns* (1925) and an active promoter of garden cities in Britain, equated the satellite city with the garden city, arguing that the use of the term grew out of the revived post-war garden city movement in England. He and other garden city advocates emphasized the independence of their creations as discrete civic, economic and cultural units connected to but distinct from London.<sup>35</sup> The low-density planning central to the idea of the garden city was also fundamental to Purdom's conception of the satellite city, and he viewed the new creations as an antidote to the overcrowded, high-density metropolis. English ideas about the satellite city had a significant influence on the DGG, although the Germans also had a number of concerns about the concept. A building official for Berlin, Dr.-Ing. Heiligenthal worried that unscrupulous developers or politicians would co-opt the term, as many already had done with the term garden city. He expressed the views of the DGG in general when he stated

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<sup>33</sup> As early as 1912, in *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding*, Raymond Unwin had proposed this method of development which he first called "federated town development," but which he later termed "regional planning along garden-city lines" [Buder, 145].

<sup>34</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, "Der internationale Städtebaukongreß zu Amsterdam," *Gartenstadt* 10, no. 1 (April 1925): 3-5 and Purdom, 24. Numerous articles in *Gartenstadt*, along with Hans Kampffmeyer's book *Grünflächenpolitik und Gartenstadtbewegung*, addressed components of the Amsterdam congress resolutions. Kampffmeyer focused mostly upon green space within and around the city but necessarily engaged with regional planning and satellite cities.

<sup>35</sup> Purdom, 25-26. Many of the most influential garden city planners and promoters helped Purdom prepare this book including Adolf Otto, Barry Parker, Louis de Soissons and Frederick Osborn (vii).

that he wanted the satellite cities (*Trabantenstädte*) to be truly distinct and not just new suburbs that effectively acted as parasites on the existing city.<sup>36</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer worried that the very success of the technical, planning elements of the garden city movement would obscure the social features essential to the original concept.<sup>37</sup> He therefore espoused a more nuanced view of the relationship between the two terms than Purdom did, stating:

With the term “satellite city,” a new concept emerged in the garden city movement. “Garden city” constituted the goal, the ideal of a city, while “satellite city” designated the path.<sup>38</sup>

In other words, a garden city could be a satellite city, but, unless the social goals of communal land ownership and cooperative planning had been achieved, a satellite city could never be a true garden city.

However one defined a satellite city, the concept emphasized the relationship of the new community to an existing city, necessitating a greater cooperation with that city and a greater role for government officials. The DGG abandoned the idea that individual garden cities would prove their superiority and eventually change the rest of society through their example. They adopted a more proactive stance and, with some of their partner institutions, attempted to influence existing cities directly through legal policy and design advocacy. For these reasons, and because the financial situation in Germany with its skyrocketing costs and inflation made further construction in existing garden cities difficult, the DGG turned its attention to regional planning, which they viewed as a necessity due to the continual expansion of cities and the

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<sup>36</sup> Oberbaurat Dr.-Ing. Heiligenthal, “Satelliten und Parasiten,” *Gartenstadt* 11, no.1 (January/February 1927): 3.

<sup>37</sup> Oberbaurat Dr.-Ing. Heiligenthal, “Satelliten und Parasiten,” *Gartenstadt* 11, no.1 (January/February 1927): 3.

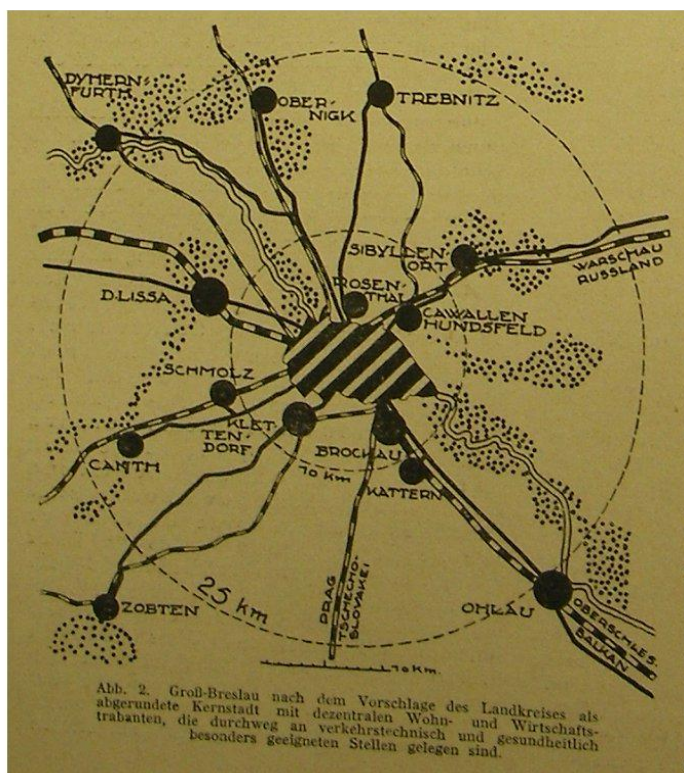
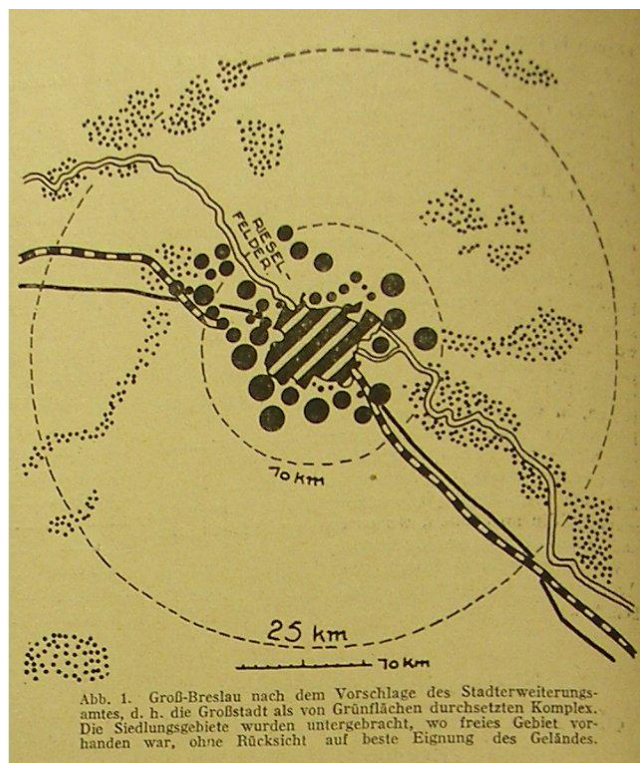
<sup>38</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, “Gartenstadt – Trabantenstadt,” *Gartenstadt* 10, no. 2 (July 1925): 3. “Mit dem Wort ‘Trabantenstadt’ trat in der Gartenstadtbewegung ein neues Wort auf. ‘Gartenstadt’ bezeichnete das Ziel, das Idealbild einer Stadt, ‘Trabantenstadt’ die Herkunft, den Weg.”

increasing interconnection of cities as a result of industrialization. They wrote articles on the benefits of municipal and regional governmental cooperation, re-imagined cities such as Berlin along garden city principles and reported on the plans for city expansions that they felt adhered to those principles, especially in terms of regional planning, namely bounded growth and the inclusion of significant green space. Cities that had barely been mentioned in the pages of *Gartenstadt* prior to 1925 such as Breslau and Kiel suddenly received significant attention: Breslau for an expansion plan by Ernst May, titled “*Trabanten*” (Satellites), which emphasized concentrations of development around the city center buffered by extensive areas of green (Figures 125-126), and Kiel for its creation of an extensive green girdle around the city. Likewise, they emphasized the creation of a single settlement organization for the coal producing areas in the Ruhr. Hans Kampffmeyer, in particular, also expressed deep interest in American models, especially park systems, and Dutch housing colonies, much of which he was exposed to through participation in various congresses sponsored by the International Garden-Cities and Town Planning Federation.

One element that did not change when the DGG focused their energies on regional planning and the creation of satellite cities was their emphasis on low-rise, low-density housing. In 1922, the DGG published a lecture by Friedrich Paulsen, the editor of *Die Bauwelt*, entitled *Kleinhaus- oder Großhauswirtschaft* (The Economy of Small or Large Dwellings), which largely reiterated arguments for the single-family dwelling that Bernhard Kampffmeyer had made before the war: specifically, that the rental barracks only served the interests of a few property owners and that single-family dwellings could compete economically with the rental barracks if zoning and building regulations were made more amenable to smaller dwellings. For example, Paulsen argued that the cost of providing streets and green spaces in the garden cities was considerably



Figures 125-126. These two diagrams compare plans for the expansion of the city of Breslau. The one to the right developed by city planning officials placed settlements wherever free land existed, whereas the plan below created residential and industrial satellites and took into account traffic and health considerations.



lower than in high-rise areas of the cities and that factors such as this had to be taken into account when assessing the cost of each type of housing.<sup>39</sup> Paulsen and Bernhard Kampffmeyer again revisited these arguments in the pages of *Gartenstadt* in 1926, at which time Kampffmeyer requested feedback from readers on a series of principles for construction and political economy (*Bau- und volkswirtschaftliche Thesen*). Kampffmeyer laid out the arguments for low-rise housing, including the assertion that any technical benefits of multi-story construction ended at the fourth story, as any increase in height beyond that required stronger foundations and walls whose cost offset the economies of scale achieved to that point.<sup>40</sup> While the DGG's analysis of the economic and cultural benefits of low-cost housing had not changed, the response from prominent members of their organization had. Hermann Muthesius spoke for many architects when he stated:

Earlier, I was a supporter of the single-family house, but I do not think it is right, in fact it might even be expressly dangerous, to further this propaganda in the current era of housing need.... The only thing that can be done today is to build the most inexpensive housing possible and to save on street costs by building in areas where streets already exist. That the single-family house could be cheaper than the apartment building is a fairy tale. One can naturally group the evidence so that it appears to be the case: but every person who deals with the practical side of the building trade would turn away from these contentions.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Friedrich Paulsen, *Kleinhaus- oder Großhauswirtschaft: Eine Flugschrift* (Berlin: Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz, Deutsche Gartenstadtgesellschaft, Deutscher Verein für Wohnungsreform, 1922), 7.

<sup>40</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, "Mehrfamilienhaus oder Einfamilienhaus mit Garten? Bau- und volkswirtschaftliche Thesen," *Gartenstadt* 10, no. 6 (November 1926): 12.

<sup>41</sup> Hermann Muthesius, response to theses in "Großhaus und Kleinhaus," *Gartenstadt* 11, no. 2 (April 1927): 23. "Ich bin früher stets ein Vertreter des Einfamilienhauses gegenüber dem Mehrfamilienhaus gewesen, halte es jedoch für nicht richtig, ja sogar für äußerste gefährlich, die Propaganda dafür in der jetzigen Zeit der Wohnungsnot weiterzuführen.... Das Einzige, was heute getan werden darf, ist, billigste Wohnungen zu bauen, und zwar sollen zunächst, um die Straßenkosten zu sparen, an denjenigen Stellen Wohnungen gebaut werden, an denen schon angebaute Straßen vorhanden sind. Daß das Einfamilienhaus billiger sei als die Mietswohnung, ist ein Märchen. Man kann natürlich die Umstände so gruppieren, daß es so aussieht: aber jeder im praktischen Leben stehende Baumann wird sich von solchen Behauptungen abwenden.... Ein verarmtes Volk ist genötigt, zunächst alle Reserven von früher auszunützen, und das sind im diesem Falle die große Anzahl von fertig angelegten Straßen, an denen billige Wohnungen, natürlich im Mehrfamilienhaus, errichtet werden müssen."

Kampffmeyer countered that the argument was not simply one of economics but one of morals and that planners had to take into account the mental and physical health of inhabitants. He argued in vain, however, and, as Germany's economic situation worsened, increasing numbers of architects and government officials agreed with Muthesius. The deepening recession, rampant inflation, and war reparations combined to make the DGG's low-rise method of building seem like a luxury rather than a necessity.

The DGG continued advocating for regional planning and low-density housing until 1931 when it stopped publishing *Gartenstadt*.<sup>42</sup> While its influence steadily declined—by 1927 it had only one-third of the members that it possessed before the war—the DGG, like the advocates of the land reform movement, had a lasting influence on German planning and housing.<sup>43</sup> The Weimar Republic applied measures pioneered by the garden cities to establish communal control of land and provide low-cost mortgages.<sup>44</sup> The November Revolution put Social Democrats in power, and municipal governments were suddenly more inclined to institute housing programs and other social welfare projects. Government officials such as May and Wagner saw that the free market system, dominated by speculation, could not provide adequate affordable housing

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<sup>42</sup> The DGG officially dissolved in 1937 [Hartmann, “Wir wollen andere Lebenswelten,” 30]. The Firma “Gartenstadt” Grundstückverwaltungsgesellschaft (Garden City Property Administration Society), formerly the Bauabteilung der deutschen Gartenstadtgesellschaft (Building Division of the German Garden City Society), lasted for approximately another ten years, finally disbanding in 1949, although the Berliner Spar- und Bauverein (Berlin Savings and Building Association) had effectively bought Gartenstadt Falkenberg and taken over its administration in 1931 [C Rep. 304 Nr. 53727, Amtsgericht Berlin Mitte, Registerakten über die Firma Bauabteilung der Deutschen Gartenstadt Gesellschaft, G.m.b.H, Files 123b and 203, Landesarchiv Berlin].

<sup>43</sup> The DGG reported that its members numbered 460 in the December 1927 issue of its magazine [*Gartenstadt* 11, no. 5/6 (December 1927): 100]. A number of reasons account for the decline, among them the members' inability to pay dues, the long hiatus in the DGG's activity necessitated by the war, and the increasing sense that the garden cities could not address the magnitude of the housing problem after the conflict ended.

<sup>44</sup> Of course the garden cities were not the only ones advocating for reform of planning and housing. Other important influences included Damaschke's land reform movement and the laws implemented in Frankfurt under Johannes Miquel and Franz Adickes in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, which allowed the city to exercise greater control over the master plan of the city and to expropriate land and dedicate it to uses, such as housing, which served the public good.

and were determined to intervene. The garden city movement helped to show these men the way forward, but neither the relatively small garden cities with their uncertain funding nor settlements with similar levels of density could meet that need. Larger settlements at a higher density were required. The result, especially in Berlin and Frankfurt, were the modern *Groß-Siedlungen* (large housing estates), for which Germany received international acclaim. Martin Wagner, who in 1926 became *Stadtbaurat* (building and planning commissioner) of greater Berlin, announced in the pages of *Gartenstadt* that same year that:

...the worth of the garden city idea, for the present at any rate, does not lie in the foundation of new cities, for whose economic foundation the requisite preparations have not been accomplished by a long way. In contrast, it appears to me that the friends of the garden city should employ their whole power in the regeneration of existing cities in the sense of the profound economic and cultural-political ideas of the garden city, that they should work hand in hand with cities and work towards a popularization of those ideas, upon which the ascension of cities to a new flowering and true culture depends.<sup>45</sup>

This statement could pass for a declaration of his goals for the city of Berlin, where he attempted to bring affordable, healthy housing and increased greenery into the city. Wagner, like many of the men involved in inter-war housing programs – Taut, May, and Migge to name just a few – had direct ties to the DGG and served on its expanded board even as he began to chafe against some of the limitations of garden city ideology. In particular, many of these men envisioned a greater role for technological innovation in housing construction, as well as a larger variety of housing types and densities to accommodate different conditions within the city. Wagner, often working side by side with Bruno Taut, planned many of the most important housing

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<sup>45</sup> Martin Wagner, “Das Problem der reinen Gartenstadt,” *Gartenstadt* 10, no. 4/5 (September 1926): 5. “...daß der Wert der Gartenstadtidee, vorerst wenigstens, nicht in der Gründung neuer Städte liegt, für deren wirtschaftliche Fundierung die erforderlichen Vorarbeiten bei weitem noch nicht geleistet sind. Mir scheint im Gegenteil, daß die Freunde der Gartenstadt ihre ganzen Kräfte auf eine Regeneration der vorhandenen Städte im Sinne der tieferen wirtschafts- und kulturpolitischen Ideen der Gartenstadt einzustellen haben, daß sie Hand in Hand mit den Städten arbeiten und für eine Popularisierung derjenigen Ideen sorgen, von denen der Aufstieg der Städte zu neuer Blüte und wahrhafter Kultur abhängt.”

developments in Berlin, including the Hufeisen Siedlung (Horseshoe Settlement) and Onkel Toms Hütte (Uncle Tom's Cabin). Both settlements were built by the *Gemeinnützige Heimstätten-, Spar- und Bau-Aktiengesellschaft* (Public Benefit Homestead, Savings, and Building Corporation), a non-profit building society associated with the labor unions.<sup>46</sup> Wagner served as a member of the board of directors and Taut as its chief architect. At nearly the same time, May, as *Dezernent für das gesamte Hochbauwesen* (Head of the Department for General Construction), designed and built fourteen *Siedlungen* at the outskirts of Frankfurt.

While the projects in Berlin and Frankfurt are among the most well-known, municipalities across the country attempted similar housing settlements. To the casual observer, there would appear to be very few connections, aesthetic or otherwise, between the *Siedlungen* of the 1920s (Figures 125-135) and the earlier garden cities. Gone were the intimate streetscapes of one and two-story buildings, planned according to the terrain and to the desire of the architect and the inhabitants for varied views. The financial climate and the pressing need for housing required a rational and economically justified approach to site planning and land use. Architects first responded by constructing taller buildings around the periphery of large blocks (*Randbebauung*), leaving the center open for gardens or other communal green space (Figure 130). They eventually refined this scheme further, eliminating the awkward corner dwellings of the *Randbebauung* by fashioning parallel rows of apartments (*Zeilenbau*) (Figure 133). These parallel rows allowed every apartment to be oriented to the sun and also reduced street costs

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<sup>46</sup> Wiedenhoef, 30. It was not only architects associated with the DGG who had a hand in building Weimar-era housing. Adolf Otto was involved in the foundation of GEHAG [Renate Amann, *Adolf Otto: Wohn- und Sozialreformer*, 32], and Hans Kampffmeyer ran the *Siedlungsamt* in Vienna from 1921 to 1928 [Kristiana Hartmann, "Wir wollen andere Lebenswelten", 29]. The role of Kampffmeyer and the study tours of the DGG in spreading the garden city idea to Austria and Eastern Europe would be an interesting avenue for further research.

significantly if the buildings were placed perpendicular to the street.<sup>47</sup> Even in these taller buildings, however, the architects maintained the emphasis on hygiene, especially good ventilation and lighting, that had been a prominent focus of housing reformers in general and the garden city movement more specifically. They achieved this by limiting the depth of the apartment buildings to two rooms, a solution popularized by the row houses in the garden cities.<sup>48</sup> And although the new housing sometimes rose to four or five stories—significantly higher than anything in the garden cities—they never rose higher than that. In fact, high-rise housing was only introduced in Berlin after World War II.<sup>49</sup> The Weimar-era buildings also extended the experiments in simplification and standardization of building parts and plans to their logical conclusion, removing the traditional, stylistic elements that softened the garden city architecture and marked them as belonging to the period before the war, when many versions of modernism were still possible.

Perhaps even more important than the emphasis on low-density housing were the DGG's creation of whole communities, rather than the piecemeal construction that many earlier building societies had attempted, and the inventive collaborations between cooperative entities and government that allowed the garden cities to be built. The garden cities were by no means the only inspiration in these realms. Frankfurt had long been a leader in progressive legislation that allowed the city to expropriate land and to channel funds towards building societies for the creation of affordable housing. Since the 1880s, mayors there, most notably Johannes Miquel

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<sup>47</sup> Wiedenhoef, 120. Wiedenhoef provides a very thorough analysis of the social, political, economic and aesthetic climate surrounding the Weimar-era housing settlements in Berlin.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 24, 65. The 1919 Prussian building code encouraged low-density settlements of affordable housing revealing the power that this idea had gained, largely due to the efforts of the garden city movement and other land reformers. The idea of low-density housing was helped by the fact that land costs were low relative to the costs of building and labor for a period after the war. The pressing need for housing and the expense of developing new land eventually led to the construction of higher-density settlements within the boundaries of the city.



Figure 127. Bruno Taut Hufeisen Siedlung, Berlin-Britz, 1925-1927. Taut developed the site plan with Martin Wagner. He also designed most of the buildings, including the central, horseshoe-shaped motif, a portion of which is shown to the left.

Figure 128. Bruno Taut, Onkel Toms Hütte, Berlin-Zehlendorf, ca. 1926.



Figure 129. Ernst May, Römerstadt, Frankfurt, ca. 1927.

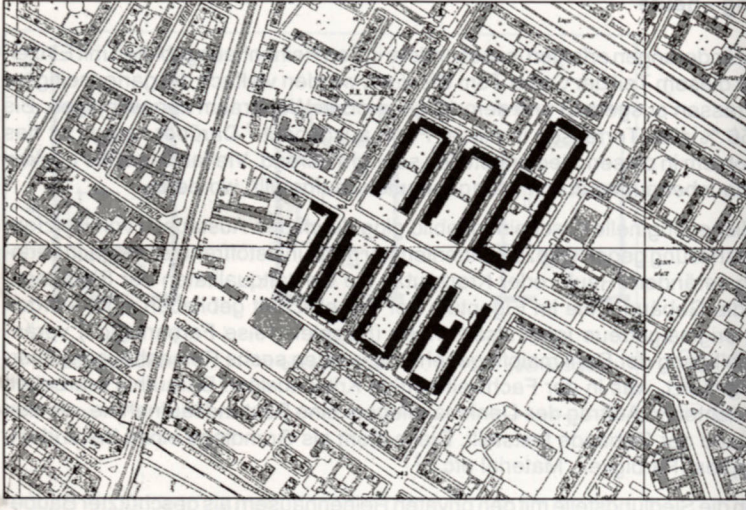


Figure 130. Bruno Taut and Franz Hillinger, site plan for Wohnstadt Carl Legien, Berlin, 1929-1930, showing the *Randbebauung* phenomenon in which buildings are pushed to the outside of the block, leaving the interior open.



Figures 131-132. Bruno Taut and Franz Hillinger, Wohnstadt Carl Legien, Berlin, ca. 1929.





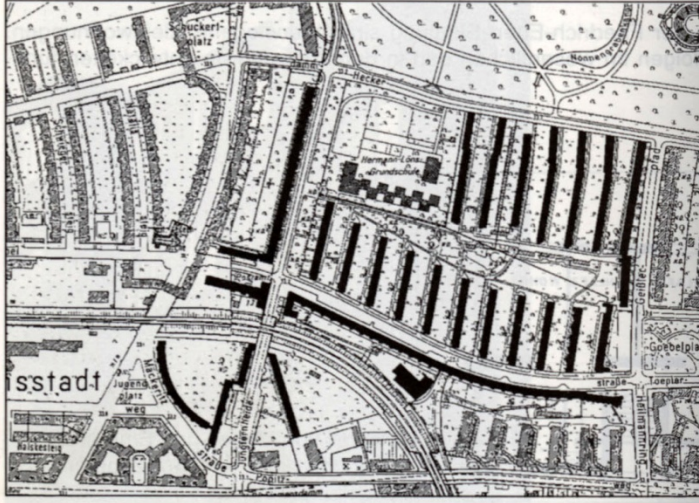


Figure 133. Hans Scharoun, site plan for Siemensstadt, Berlin, ca. 1929. Parallel rows of housing (*Zeilenbau*) make up the majority of this settlement.

Figure 134. Hugo Häring Siemensstadt, Berlin, ca. 1930.



Figure 135. Hans Scharoun Siemensstadt, Berlin, ca. 1930.

and Franz Adickes, had enacted legislation that would become a model for national legislation in the Weimar era.<sup>50</sup> Most other municipalities did not gain similar powers until 1919, when the Weimar Constitution not only made decent housing a basic right of every citizen but also granted municipalities the power to expropriate land to further that end.<sup>51</sup> Because local organizations had built garden cities in most of these regions, however, municipal administrations already had firsthand experience with successful public/private ventures. Municipalities had provided land at lower than market rate prices and funding through subsidies and the guarantee of low-interest mortgages but did not have a role in the management or construction of the garden city settlements beyond the approval of designs by the building department. Cities such as Berlin and Frankfurt used many of these same tools to build the Weimar-era *Siedlungen*. When mortgages were difficult to obtain in the period after the war, direct government intervention allowed for the provision of low-interest mortgages to support the construction of workers' housing.<sup>52</sup> Rather than small garden city cooperatives, however, large building societies, many of them associated with unions and with national concerns, took the lead. The Gemeinnützige Heimstätten Spar- und Bau-Aktiengesellschaft (Public Benefit Homestead, Savings, and Building Corporation) or GEHAG is a perfect example. GEHAG was the Berlin subsidiary of the Deutsche Wohnungsfürsorge Aktiengesellschaft für Beamte, Angestellte und Arbeiter (German Housing Welfare Corporation for Civil Servants, Salaried Employees and Workers) or DEWOG and built Hufeisen and Onkel Toms Hütte along with a number of other settlements in that city.

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<sup>50</sup> Susan Henderson, "The Work of Ernst May, 1919-1930" (Ph.D. diss, Columbia University, 1990), 299.

<sup>51</sup> Wiedenhoeft, 11.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, 48 and Henderson, "The Work of Ernst May," 305. According to Wiedenhoeft and Henderson, one of the most important sources of funding was the *Hauszinssteuer* (House Rent Tax), which funneled taxes on home owners directly to the mortgages for workers' housing.

The trend toward ever higher densities and more technologically driven planning intensified as the century progressed, with preeminent figures of the modern movement such as Le Corbusier dismissing planning inspired by Camille Sitte—including the garden city movement, although it is not mentioned specifically—as the “pack-donkey’s way” as opposed to “man’s way.” Le Corbusier and his fellow modernists called for straight lines and a rational approach to planning rather than the distracted meandering of earlier centuries where planning was dominated by ad-hoc solutions that privileged aesthetics over reason.<sup>53</sup> Despite these withering critiques, the garden city ideal has evinced remarkable resilience, periodically resurfacing throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first.

Most of the later incarnations, both in Germany and elsewhere, focused on pieces of Howard’s original concept, however, never its entirety. The Weimar-era housing, for example, was made possible by land expropriation. These tactics did help to control land speculation, but private interests still controlled much urban land and so these experiments fell short of the ideal of communal land ownership as envisioned by Howard and his followers. In a similar manner, the ten-year program for Frankfurt devised by Ernst May in 1924 included the creation of new neighborhoods at the outskirts of the city and the renovation of the medieval city. May envisioned the new settlements, nestled in a greenbelt that circumscribed the older city, easing the pressure on older city fabric in much the same way that Howard imagined that garden cities

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<sup>53</sup> Le Corbusier, *The City of To-Morrow and Its Planning*, trans. Frederick Etchells (New York: Dover Publications, Inc.: 1987), 5-7. As H. Allen Brooks has shown, Le Corbusier’s position in *Urbanisme* was a reversal of previously held beliefs. Manuscripts for an early book entitled *La Construction des Villes* (1910) advocated a Sittesque planning philosophy and celebrated curved streets and closed views. Le Corbusier stated there that “the lesson of the donkey is to be retained.” His mentor Charles L’Eplattenier even suggested adding a section on garden cities to the text. Brooks and De Michelis have also recorded Le Corbusier’s positive impressions of Hellerau, where he visited his brother numerous times in 1910 and 1911. Brooks attributes Le Corbusier’s change of heart to his research at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris during which “order, geometry, axial control, and monumentality had become his new gods in urban planning” [H. Allen Brooks, “Jeanneret and Sitte: Le Corbusier’s Earliest Ideas on Urban Design” in *In Search of Modern Architecture: A Tribute to Henry-Russell Hitchcock*, ed. Helen Searing (New York: The Architectural History Foundation, 1982), 282, 290 and 293]

would alleviate pressure on the original metropolis in his Social Cities diagram.<sup>54</sup> The Frankfurt planner appropriated Howard's idea of the Social City and the green belt as a limit to urban growth but reduced the independent garden cities to *Siedlungen* with some communal facilities.

Other appropriations were far less benign. Nazi ideals of urban planning represented a fundamentally distorted version of the garden city. The Nazis focused on the nostalgic, back-to-the-land elements of the concept along with the *völkisch* designs of some of the built incarnations such as Hellerau, but they stripped the garden city of its anarcho-socialist connotations, especially in regard to communal land ownership. They emphasized purely aesthetic elements that were not intrinsic to the concept but rather representative of architectural trends particular to that pre-war moment.<sup>55</sup> The vernacular architecture that Muthesius and others had praised for its sensible, timeless solutions to specific cultural and environmental problems and which was closely linked to burgeoning ideas of modernism before the war became emblems of racist politics in the hands of the Nazis. Like their progressive counterparts, they equated physical order with social order, but, instead of calling forth an enlightened citizenry who put the needs of the community above their own, the Nazis envisioned a purely German society without the undesirables of race or class that flocked to urban centers like Berlin.<sup>56</sup> Also like their progressive counterparts, they expressed horror at the results of uncontrolled suburbanization, although they worried more about the destruction of the landscape and the absorption of traditional German towns into urban agglomerations than about the impact of poor planning on

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<sup>54</sup> Henderson, "The Work of Ernst May," 304.

<sup>55</sup> Gerhard Fehl, "The Nazi Garden City," in *The Garden City: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Stephen Ward (London: E & FN Spon, 1992), 103.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 94-95. The Nazi social ideals have much in common with the society envisioned by Theodor Fritsch in his *Stadt der Zukunft* (City of the Future), which the DGG explicitly rejected in its earlier propaganda.

the inhabitants of those areas.<sup>57</sup> More terrifyingly, ideas that had been present but peripheral in the pre-war literature of the DGG, namely the colonization of territories in the east through garden city developments, came to the forefront for Nazi planners and were taken a step further. No longer was it enough to Germanize the populations of the east through architecture, planning and exposure to German culture; the non-German populations had to be removed and replaced with those of German blood.<sup>58</sup> These pure German settlers were to inhabit a rural network of interconnected towns developed by planners such as Walter Christaller and Paul Wolf, visually related to the Social City but without the corrupting influence of the large metropolitan area at the center of Howard's diagram.<sup>59</sup> For many in Germany, and largely unfairly, the garden city developments of the pre-war period were tainted by these later associations.

Some prominent members of the DGG did collaborate with the Nazis, most notably Schultze-Naumburg, who wrote racist tracts such as *Kunst und Rasse* (Art and Race, 1928) and *Das Gesicht des deutschen Hauses* (The Face of the German House, 1929). He officially joined the party in 1930 and two years later won election to the Reichstag on the Nazi ticket.<sup>60</sup> But the board members and architects most involved in the movement did not follow suit. Hermann Muthesius died in a streetcar accident in 1927 before the Nazis took power. Hans Kampffmeyer died five years after Muthesius, but, according to his grandson, he had already taken a stand against Hitler and his followers by printing anti-Nazi propaganda in his basement. The Gestapo raided his house in retaliation, destroying his library and most of his records.<sup>61</sup> Adolf Otto left

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid, 89.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 102.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 98-100.

<sup>60</sup> Borrmann, 14.

<sup>61</sup> Conversation with Thomas Kampffmeyer, 18 November 2006.

Berlin for political reasons in 1933 only to be forced to return in 1942. He worked for GEHAG until his death a year later in an accident on the S-Bahn.<sup>62</sup> After designing some of the most well-known examples of Weimar-era housing, Bruno Taut fled the country in 1933, first to Japan and then to Turkey. He enthusiastically explored vernacular architecture in these countries until his untimely death in 1938.<sup>63</sup>

Bernhard Kampffmeyer and Heinrich Tessenow had more complicated relationships with the Nazi government. Bernhard continued to lead the DGG until its dissolution in 1937; the 1934 *Mitteilungen des Vorstandes* (Message from the Executive Board) included a review of Martin Wagner's *Die neue Stadt im neuen Land* (The New City in New Land) alongside one of Percival Booth's essay "Das Bodenrecht des Nationalsozialismus" (The Land Rights of National Socialism). The editors, including Bernhard, did not explicitly condemn the Nazi position regarding land ownership but did elucidate the significant ways in which the National Socialist position differed from that of the land reformers. A single phrase quoted in the review captured the Nazi viewpoint perfectly: "Farmers should have full ownership of land, but the farmer is also only a part of the organism of the Nation, which alone protects his property."<sup>64</sup> The 1935 *Mitteilungen* continued the trend of reporting on settlement endeavors across the political spectrum and even discussed promising news of an American Commission for Jewish Farm Settlements in light of the economic restrictions against which Jews struggled.<sup>65</sup> The

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<sup>62</sup> Amann, *Adolf Otto: Wohn- und Sozialreformer*, 39.

<sup>63</sup> Esra Akcan, "Modernity in Translation: Early Twentieth Century German-Turkish Exchanges in Land Settlement and Residential Culture" (Ph.D. diss, Columbia University, 2005), 697.

<sup>64</sup> Review of "Das Bodenrecht des Nationalsozialismus," *Mitteilungen des Vorstandes* (August 1934): 2. "Dem Bauern sein volles Eigentum, aber der Bauer auch nur ein Glied im Organismus der Nation, die allein ihm sein Eigentum schützt. Deswegen keine Spekulation mit deutschem Grund und Boden!"

<sup>65</sup> Jacob Joffe, "Jüdische Berufsumschiebung in den Vereinigten Staaten," *Mitteilungen des Vorstandes* (August 1934): 6. This was a reprint of an article from *Der Ausweg*, no. 3 (January 1935).

sympathetic tone of the article was obviously at odds with Nazi ideology. Bernhard also wrote an article for the Nazi publication, *Bauen, Siedeln, Wohnen: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Arbeitsfront für soziale Bau-, Siedlungs- und Wohnungswirtschaft* (Building, Settlement, Dwelling: The Magazine of the German Worker's Front for Social Building, Settlement and Housing-Industry). However, other than a passing mention of the greater viability of new settlements in the east than in the west of Germany, the article simply reported on recent developments funded by Gartensiedlung Gronauer Wald.<sup>66</sup> Politically motivated criticism of Tessenow has largely been based upon the favorable reception of his architecture by the party. Tessenow was an outspoken critic of the Nazis, leading him to lose his teaching position at the Technische Hochschule of Berlin, although not before he taught young architects such as Albert Speer, who would go on to become Hitler's preferred architects.<sup>67</sup>

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the DGG had been the most active international branch of the garden city movement outside of England. After World War I, the center of gravity began to shift to America, a process that was only furthered by the destruction of World War II, after which Germany had to focus on the most basic of rebuilding efforts. German municipalities struggled desperately to get housing built, causing the garden city ideal to seem like an unattainable luxury. Across the Atlantic, in the late 1920s, Clarence Perry and the team of Clarence Stein and Henry Wright developed the concept of the superblock almost

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<sup>66</sup> Bernhard Kampffmeyer, "Halbländliche Siedlung im Rheinland," *Bauen, Siedeln, Wohnen: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Arbeitsfront für soziale Bau-, Siedlungs- und Wohnungswirtschaft* 15, no. 2 (15 January 1935).

<sup>67</sup> K. Michael Hays, "Tessenow's Architecture as National Allegory," 105. Hays described Tessenow's work as proto-fascist because of his desire to create an all-encompassing system of order, based on simplified classical and vernacular forms and the emphasis on artisanal work. I find elements of this analysis problematic, especially as Hays's theory seems to leave no room for the intention of the architect and holds Tessenow responsible, to a degree, for the use that others made of his architecture.

simultaneously.<sup>68</sup> Stein and Wright used the superblock as the basic unit of design for Radburn, New Jersey, which, if the Depression had not intervened, was intended to be a fully-fledged garden city (Figure 136). Housing lined the exterior of the large blocks while the interior was given over to park and community space. Stein and Wright limited motor traffic to the exterior of the block while pedestrians could navigate the entire development by way of interior paths and underpasses connecting the various superblocks.<sup>69</sup> At the same time, Perry developed the idea of the neighborhood unit for the Regional Plan Association, publishing his ideas in *Neighborhood and Community Planning* (1929). Perry's communities were comprised of neighborhoods large enough to support an elementary school but not so large as to lose their social cohesion. Like at Radburn, pedestrian paths separate from other traffic provided access to the schools.<sup>70</sup> Kermit Parson clearly traced the legacy of Howard's wards and Unwin & Parker's cul-de-sac layouts on the American designers, who nonetheless integrated the car much more efficiently in their designs. *The Town Planning Review* published the Radburn layouts in England in 1949 and 1950, and British designers rapidly adopted the idea of the superblock along with the significantly reduced density of these neighborhood layouts.<sup>71</sup>

Perry and Stein's efforts were largely limited to suburban developments, but the idea of complete garden cities resurfaced after World War II when Britain passed the New Town Act of 1946. The roots of the New Town concept go back to 1918 when a group called the "New Townsmen," which included Ebenezer Howard, authored a short book entitled *New Towns after*

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<sup>68</sup> Buder, 174.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, 168-169.

<sup>70</sup> Eugenie L. Birch, "Five Generations of the Garden City: Tracing Howard's Legacy in Twentieth-Century Residential Planning," in *From Garden City to Green City: The Legacy of Ebenezer Howard*, eds. Kermit C. Parsons and David Schuyler (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2002), 173 and Buder, 173-174.

<sup>71</sup> Kermit C. Parsons, "British and American Community Design: Clarence Stein's Manhattan Transfer, 1924-1974," in *From Garden City to Green City*, 131-132.



*the War*. Charles Purdom and Frederick Osborn, two of Howard's disciples, tirelessly advocated for New Towns and helped shape the legislation passed at the close of the war.<sup>72</sup> Upon gaining office in 1945, Lewis Silken, the minister of town and country planning, established a committee headed by Sir John Reith and Frederick Osborn to develop principles to guide the creation of New Towns. The debt to the garden city was immediately apparent: the Reith committee envisioned New Towns as low-density settlements ranging from twenty to sixty thousand people, subdivided into neighborhood units and bounded by a greenbelt (although Howard never intended a centralized government agency to develop garden cities).<sup>73</sup> Politicians and planners used New Towns as a way to redistribute population and to direct economic growth in a desirable fashion. Later New Towns, especially those of the 1960s such as Milton Keynes, looked less and less like the pre-war garden cities (Figure 137). They appeared as diffuse conglomerations of residential and service areas, more like several garden cities grouped together than a single, discrete entity.<sup>74</sup> The conservative economic and political climate of the Thatcher era led to the cessation of the New Town program and initiated a process in which private entities acquired what had previously been public endeavors.

The latest incarnation of garden city ideas appeared in response to the decentralized sprawl that characterized most American development after World War II. Unlike in Howard's era, when the overcrowded city presented itself as the most pressing planning problem to be overcome, American planners struggled to create urban nodes in the undifferentiated mass of low-density suburbia that stretched between cities. Lewis Mumford was perhaps the earliest critic to see the danger in the emphasis on decreased density embodied in the American

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<sup>72</sup> Stephen V. Ward, "Ebenezer Howard: His Life and Times," in *From Garden City to Green City*, 33.

<sup>73</sup> Buder, 183-184.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid*, 193.

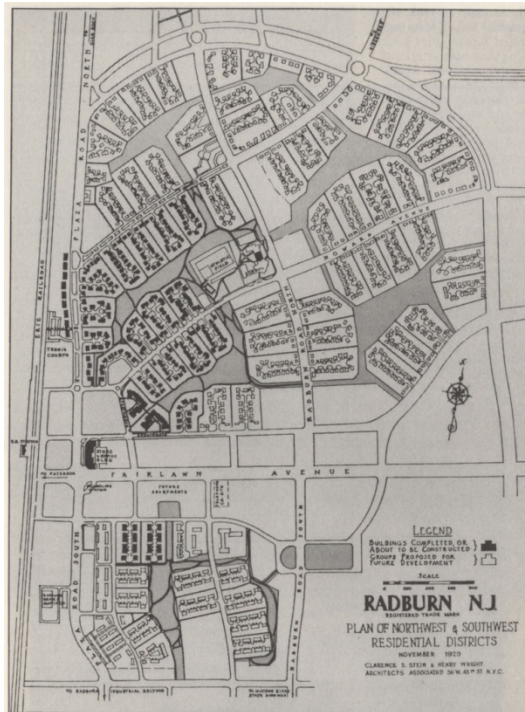


Figure 136. Clarence Stein and Henry Wright, plan for Radburn, NJ., 1929.

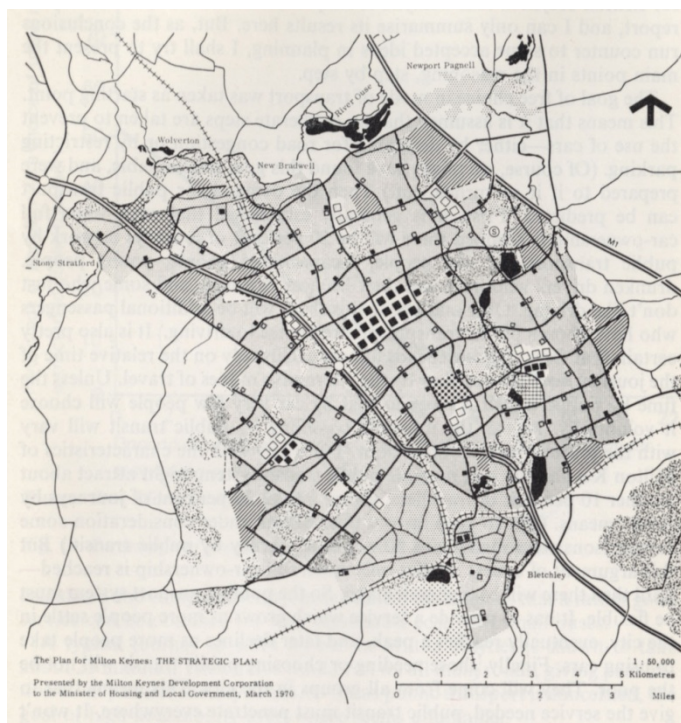


Figure 137. Plan for Milton Keynes, New Town, England, 1970.

neighborhood unit, but the problem had to reach a crisis before groups such as the New Urbanists arose to address it.<sup>75</sup> Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and Peter Calthorpe, along with a host of like-minded architects and planners, founded the Congress for the New Urbanism in 1990. Their charter, drafted in 1996, incorporated many elements of garden city planning, including the creation of “compact, walkable neighborhoods” with public spaces and services located near the center. Public transportation was meant to connect neighborhoods and provide easy access to nearby metropolitan areas and would also have the benefit of reducing automobile use. The New Urbanists envisioned mixed-use communities with employment and services located within the community. They also advocated for mixed-income neighborhoods so as to avoid the ghettoization of inhabitants according to wealth.<sup>76</sup> While the debt to the garden city movement and its successors is clear, New Urbanism also differs in significant ways.

Like many other movements inspired by Howard’s garden city, its proponents avoid any mention of communal property other than town greens, focusing instead on the benefits to businesses, developers and municipalities in their literature and obviously hoping for support and funding from these quarters.<sup>77</sup> In addition, the New Urbanist design criteria are both more rigid and more nostalgic than those of the original garden cities. The DGG did advocate the creation of artistic advisory boards in the German garden cities, many of which ended up exerting significant control over the aesthetics of the communities, but it also prized the flexibility of the concept and respected local conditions and traditions. They never mandated the adoption of a

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<sup>75</sup> Robert Fishman, “The Bounded City,” in *From Garden City to Green City*, 59.

<sup>76</sup> Birch, 185-185 and “Principles of New Urbanism,” <http://www.newurbanism.org/newurbanism/principles.html>.

<sup>77</sup> “Principles of New Urbanism.” This may have as much to do with practical concerns as with any ideological stance. The embrace of private property is deeply rooted in the American psyche, and Americans have traditionally been less receptive than their European counterparts to anything that smacks of socialism, such as communal property ownership.

specific style, as evidenced by the remarkable variety of architecture and urban planning utilized in German garden cities.

Over the years, scholars and critics have expressed widely differing views, often colored by their own biases, of Howard's contribution. Die-hard modernists such as Sigfried Giedion dismissed the garden city as utopian and "doomed to failure," as "only preconceived and integrated planning on a scale embracing the whole structure of modern life in all its ramifications can accomplish the task which Ebenezer Howard had in mind."<sup>78</sup> Years later, Jane Jacobs, a frequent opponent of the modernist schemes embraced by Giedion and others, would excoriate Howard's invention as essentially anti-urban, as well as actively detrimental to what she viewed as real cities. She wrote:

His [Howard's] aim was the creation of self-sufficient small towns, really very nice towns if you were docile and had not plans of your own and did not mind spending your life among others with no plans of their own. As in all Utopias, the right to have plans of any significance belonged only to the planners in charge.<sup>79</sup>

She further accused Howard of being "uninterested in the aspects of the city which could not be abstracted to serve his Utopia" and of ignoring "the intricate, many-faceted, cultural life of the metropolis."<sup>80</sup> Lewis Mumford, in contrast, stated that "*Garden Cities of To-Morrow* has done more than any other single book to guide the modern town planning movement and to alter its objectives."<sup>81</sup> It certainly is true that no one has yet succeeded in creating a garden city that

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<sup>78</sup> Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*, The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures for 1938-1939, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1969), 784-785.

<sup>79</sup> Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 17.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid*, 19.

<sup>81</sup> Lewis Mumford, "The Garden City Idea and Modern Planning," introduction to *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, by Ebenezer Howard (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1960), 29.

encapsulates the entirety of Howard's vision, but the incredible resilience of his ideas as embodied in the various incarnations from the initial garden suburbs to satellite cities to New Towns, and even New Urbanism, seems to bear out Mumford's assessment. More recent scholars take the importance of Howard's contribution for granted, parsing his legacy but rarely disputing his significance.

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**Kampffmeyer Family Papers**

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D23 Dokumentation Gartenstadt

**Werkbundarchiv, Berlin**

Sammlung Deutscher Werkbund, Nachlaß Hermann Muthesius

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<sup>1</sup> Leni Kampffmeyer, the wife of Hans Kampffmeyer Jr., has since passed away. I am not sure who now possesses the papers I viewed at her home.

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## Appendix A: Membership Rosters

### 1902-1904<sup>1</sup>

1. **Abendroth, A.**, Hannover  
(\*author of the DGG's eighth pamphlet, *Die Grossstadt als Städtegründerin*)
2. **Anthon, Johann**, Flensburg
3. **Arndt-Oberwartha, Fritz**,  
Klostergut Oberwartha
4. **Ascher, Paul**, Rittergutsbesitzer,  
Stutgarten b. Storkow
5. **Badestein, Fritz**, Bauführer,  
Berlin
6. **Baegel, M. H.**, Friedrichshagen
7. **Bauss, Georg**, Berlin
8. **Beamtenwohnungsverein zu  
Görlitz**, E.G.m.b.H., Görlitz
9. **Bernuth, Ludwig v.**,  
Civilingenieur, Graz
10. **Bilfinger, Dr.**, Sanitätsrat,  
Berthelsdorf
11. **Bode, Dr. Wilh.**, Weimar
12. **Bode**, Leutnant a.D., Eden
13. **Bolsche, Wilh.**, Friedrichshagen  
(\*also member of the Friedrichshagener  
Dichterkreis)
14. **Born, W.**, sen. Ingen.,  
Charlottenb.
15. **Brandt, Frau Clara**, Grunewald
16. **Brouckère, E. de.**, Berlin
17. **Bruijn, J. H.**, Haag
18. **Burchard, Frau E.**,  
Wilmsdorf
19. **Buschhüter**, Architekt, Krefeld
20. **Carol, Hugo**, Rechtsanwalt,  
Schlachtensee
21. **Charas, Erna**, Charlottenburg
22. **Clercq, D. de.**, Bloemendaal
23. **Dames, Hermann**, Berlin
24. **Degenhardt**,  
Stadtgartendirektor, Gr.-Sedlitz  
b. Dresden
25. **Deneke, Dr.**, Rechtsanwalt,  
Göttingen
26. **Deutsch, Adolf**, Berlin
27. **Dickmann, F.**, Civilingenieur,  
Schöneberg
28. **Dost, Rich.**, Halensee
29. **Ebert, Willy**, Ingenieur, Aue
30. **Epstein, Fritz**, Architekt,  
Frankfurt a.M.
31. **Erdmann, R.**, Berlin, Maler
32. **Erhardt, W.**, Architekt, London
33. **Eschholz, Frau Th.**, Berlin
34. **Falkenberg, A.**, Münder  
(Deister)
35. **Freese, Heinrich**,  
Fabrikbesitzer, Berlin
36. **Gebhardt, Dr. W.**, Friedenau
37. **Goecke, Th., Prof.**,  
Landesbaurat, Berlin (\*co-  
founder, along with Camillo Sitte, of  
the magazine, *Der Städtebau*)
38. **Greff H.**, Chemiker, Xanten
39. **Grunwald, H.**, Baumeister,  
Bonn
40. **Gumpert, Dr.**, med., Berlin
41. **Guttman, Albrecht**, Wannsee
42. **Hallgarten, Charles L.**,  
Frankfurt a.M.
43. **Hannemann, Frl. M.**, Halle
44. **Hantel, Joh.**, Berlin
45. **Harder, Aug.**, Generalag.,  
Berlin
46. **Hart, Heinrich**, Charlottenburg  
(\*also member of the Friedrichshagener  
Dichterkreis)
47. **Hart, Julius**, Wilhemshagen  
(\*also member of the Friedrichshagener  
Dichterkreis)
48. **Hartenheim, Felix**, Berlin
49. **Hercher**, Regierungs-  
Baumeister, Münster i.W.
50. **Hirschfeld, Dr. med.**,  
Charlottenb.

<sup>1</sup> Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, *Geschäfts-Bericht 1902-1904* (Schlachtensee: Verlag der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft), 5 [Magistratskaten MA S2.263, Bd. II, no. 60, 12-14, Institut für Stadtgeschichte (Frankfurt)].

51. **Höppener-Fidus**, Maler, Berlin  
(\*also member of the Friedrichshagener Dichterkreis)
52. **Horneffer, Alwine**, Wernigerode
53. **Hülßen, Reinh.**,  
Verbandsrevisor, Zehlendorf
54. **Jackisch, Otto**, Geschäftsführer  
der Obstbaukolonie Eden
55. **Jaerschki**, Dr. med., Berlin
56. **Jordan**, Dr. med., Berlin
57. **Jung, Alb.**, Steglitz
58. **Kahnt**, Dr. med., Berlin
59. **Kampffmeyer, Adele**, Garzau  
(\*wife of Bernhard Kampffmeyer)
60. **Kampffmeyer, Bernh.**, Garzau
61. **Kampffmeyer, Curt**, Naumburg  
(Queiss) (\*brother of Hans  
Kampffmeyer)
62. **Kampffmeyer, Elise**, Pankow
63. **Kampffmeyer, Hans**, Paris
64. **Kampffmeyer, Martin**,  
Naumburg (Queiss) (\*brother of  
Hans Kampffmeyer)
65. **Keisenberg, C. von.**, Berlin
66. **Kessinger, Fr.**, Hamburg
67. **Klitzing, W. v.**,  
Rittergutsbesitzer, Kolzig
68. **Koch, Johannes**, Frankfurt a.M.
69. **Koehler, Dr. Jean**, Freiburg i.B.
70. **Köhn, Otto**, Karlshorst
71. **König, Max**, Hannover
72. **Kowal, Erich**, Schöneberg
73. **Kost, Dr.**, Hildburghausen
74. **Krebs, Frau E.**, Kassel
75. **Krebs, Fritz**, Gr.-Zschaschwitz
76. **Krebs, Heinrich**, Garzau  
(\*brought the garden city idea to the  
attention of the German audience)<sup>2</sup>
77. **Krebs, Heinrich**, Neumark  
(Sachsen)
78. **Krah**, Regierungs-Baumeister,  
Königsberg i.P.
79. **Landauer, Gustav**, Hermsdorf  
(\*also member of the Friedrichshagener  
Dichterkreis)
80. **Langen, Franz**, Berlin
81. **Lasker, Dr. med.**, Berlin
82. **Lerner, Frau Ilse**,  
Charlottenburg
83. **Linnemann**, Maler, Berlin
84. **Lösch, Otto**, Sinsheim b.  
Heidelb.
85. **Lohse, Willy**, Zwickau
86. **Ludwig, Alois**, Düsseldorf
87. **Lux, Dr.**, Friedenau
88. **Mangoldt, Dr. K. von**, General-  
Sekretär des Vereins Reichs-  
Wohnungsgesetz, Dresden
89. **Mann, Karl**, Worms
90. **Marcus, Dr. Alfred**, Düsseldorf
91. **Mieschle, Wilh.**, Magdeburg
92. **Merwart, Paul**, Breslau
93. **Mezer, Lothar**,  
Rittergutsbesitzer, Kl.-Eichholz
94. **Mittlers**  
**Sortimentsbuchhandlung**,  
Berlin
95. **Molenaar, Dr. H.**, München
96. **Müller, Leo**, Gera
97. **Makachidze, Elias**, Nizza
98. **Neustädter, Frau**, Berlin
99. **Olbrich**, Landmesser,  
Rastenburg
100. **Oppenheimer, Dr. Franz**,  
Berlin (\*also member of the  
Friedrichshagener Dichterkreis)
101. **Otto, Adolf**, Schlachtensee  
(\*also member of the  
Friedrichshagener Dichterkreis)
102. **Opfeiffer, Otto**, Leipzig-L.
103. **Pohlmann, A.**, Hohenaspe
104. **Polte, Heinr.**, Berlin
105. **Punzmann, Anton**, Architekt,  
Berlin
106. **Raschig, Toni**, Schloss Jessen
107. **Rehländer, H.**, Königsberg i.  
Pr.
108. **Rex, Wilh.**, Magdeburg
109. **Ring, Ernst**, Rittergutsbesitzer,  
Düppel b. Zehlendorf

<sup>2</sup> *Gartenstadt* 6, no. 9 (September 1912): 160.

110. **Rominger, N.**,  
Kommerzienrat, Stuttgart
111. **Rosenstand-Wöldike**,  
Landesökonomie-Inspektor,  
Dorpat
112. **Salneit, Paul**, Rixdorf
113. **Sandkuhl, Frau**, Gr.-  
Lichterfelde
114. **Sandt, I. P. v. d.**, Hofbesitzer,  
Weslö
115. **Schiff, Ludw.**, Ingenieur, Gr.-  
Lichterfelde
116. **Schimmelpfent, K.**, Mülheim  
a.d. Ruhr
117. **Schirrmeister, Paul**,  
Karlshorst
118. **Schmidt, Fritz**, Bauführer,  
Stuttg.
119. **Schneider, C. Fr.**, Lehrer,  
Mögeldorf
120. **Schneider, Dr. med. J.**, Leipzig
121. **Schröder, Buttgerit, Frau**,  
München
122. **Schuster, Frau Ida**, Eden bei  
Oranienburg
123. **Schwerin, Dr. jur. Alb. v.**,  
Legationssekretär, Stockholm
124. **Silber, Dr.**, Königshütte
125. **Spohn, H.**, Hamburg-  
Bergedorf
126. **Sommer, Carl**, Frankfurt a.M.
127. **Stadtkanzlei**, Frankfurt a.M.
128. **Steinmann, Frl. Ant.**, Berlin
129. **Stephani, Erich**, Karlsruhe  
(\*longtime friend of Hans  
Kampffmeyer)
130. **Stephanie, Frl. Ida**, Paris
131. **Stern, Albert**, Berlin
132. **Strangfeld, Max**, Berlin
133. **Stümges, F. W.**, Rheydt
134. **Studnitz, Dr. v.**, Berlin
135. **Tautz, Rob.**, Schlachtensee
136. **Thesmar, Frau Dr.**,  
Lichtenthal
137. **Treichel, Frl. Ida**, Rixdorf
138. **Trietsch, Davis**, Berlin
139. **Trojan**, Eden
140. **Voerster, A.**, Leipzig
141. **Wallroth, Dr. E.**, Lübeck
142. **Wallroth, Frau**,  
Niederschönh.
143. **Wallroth, Otto**, Garzau
144. **Watt, Miss J.**, Berlin
145. **Weckerling, Dr.** Medizinalrat,  
Friedberg
146. **Weidner, Alb.**,  
Friedrichshagen
147. **Weigelt, Prof. Dr. C.**, Berlin
148. **Werle**, Architekt, Gr.  
Lichterfelde
149. **Wichulla, Arthur**, Ingenieur  
für Kultur und Gartenbau  
Königsberg i.P.
150. **Wiederhold, E.**, Berlin
151. **Wilhelmi, Bruno**, Erkner
152. **Winkler, B.**, Erdenglück
153. **Winsch, Dr. med.**, Halensee
154. **Wohlfahrtsverein**, Ebingen
155. **Wöldike, Gurli**, Korinth  
(Dänemark)
156. **Wolff, Wilh.**, Landmess,  
Lankwitz
157. **Zacher, Dr. jur.**,  
Senatsvorsitzender im Reichs-  
Vers.-Amt, Berlin
158. **Zollmann**, Pastor, Atzendorf.

**1904-1905<sup>3</sup>****Corporate Members:****Berlin**

1. Bundes-Vorstand der Vereine für naturgemässe Lebens- und Heilweise.
2. Deutscher Verein für ländliche Siedlung.

**Darmstadt**

3. Hessischer gemeinnütziger Verein zur Vermittlung von Land- und Kuraufenthalten.

**Dessau**

4. Stadtgemeinde Dessau

**Dresden**

5. Dürerbund.

**Ebingen**

6. Wohlfahrtsverein.

**Frankfurt a.M.**

7. Stadtkanzlei.

**Görlitz**

8. Beamten-Wohnungs-Verein zu Görlitz (E.G.m.b.H.).

**Wien.**

9. Erster Wiener Beamten-Bauverein (regr. G.m.b.H.)

**Individual Members:****Altona a.E.**

1. Seehase, Ernst

**Atzendorf i.S.**

2. Zollmann (Pastor)

**Aue i.S.**

3. Ebert, W. (Ingenieur)
4. Ebert, Clarissa

**Berlin**

5. Badestein, Fritz
6. Brouckère, Elise de.
7. Dames, Hermann
8. Deutsch, Adolf
9. Erdmann, R. (Maler)

10. Gebhardt, Dr. W.
11. Goecke, Prof., Th.  
(Landesbaurat)
12. Grönvold, Frau M.
13. Gumpert, Dr. med.
14. Hacker, Agnes (Frl. Dr. med.)
15. Harder, August
16. Hartenheim, Felix
17. Heerberger, Wilhelm (Ingenieur)
18. Jaerschki (Dr. med.)
19. Jordan (Dr. med)
20. Kahnt (Dr. med.)
21. Keisenberg, C. von
22. Langen, Franz
23. Lasker, B. (Dr. med.)
24. Mittlers Sortiments-  
Buchhandlung
25. Möckel, Gustav
26. Oppenheimer, Dr. Franz
27. Polte, Heinrich
28. Punzmann, Anton (Architekt)
29. Schiff, Ludwig (Ingenieur)
30. Schirrmeister, Paul
31. Steinmann, Frl. Antonie
32. Stern, Albert
33. Strangfeld, Max
34. Studnitz, Dr. v.
35. Trietsch, Davis
36. Watt, Frl. J.
37. Weigelt, Prof. Dr. C.
38. West, Jul. H. (Ingenieur)
39. Wiederhold, E.
40. Zacher (Dr. jur., Geh. Reg. Rat.)
41. Ziems, August

**Blomendaal b. Haarlem**

42. Clerg. D. de

**Bonn**

43. Grunwald, H. (Baumeister)
44. Weber, Dr. Adolf (Privatdozent)

**Bremen**

45. Kulemann, W. (Landgerichtsrat)

**Breslau**

46. Günther, Paul (Civil-Ingenieur)
47. Merwart, Paul

**Bromberg**

48. Olbrich (Landmesser)

<sup>3</sup> Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, *Geschäfts-Bericht 1904-1905* (Schlactensee: Verlag der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft), 5 [Magistratskaten MA S2.263, Bd. II, no. 71, 11-14, Institut für Stadtgeschichte (Frankfurt)].

**Charlottenburg (bei Berlin)**

- 49. Arendt, Rich. (Dr. med.)
- 50. Born, W. (sen., Ingenieur)
- 51. Franz, Prof.
- 52. Galli, Karl, Oberst a.D.
- 53. Guttmann, Abrecht
- 54. Hart, Heinrich
- 55. Hirschfeld, M. (Dr. med.)
- 56. Crailsheim
- 57. Mülberger, Dr. A.

**Darmstadt**

- 58. Fuchs (Dr., Geh. Oberfinanzrat)

**Delmenhorst**

- 59. Schomerus, Dr. Fr.

**Dorpat**

- 60. Rosenstand-Wöldike, P.  
(Kulturing.)

**Dresden**

- 61. Degenhart, Stadtgardendirektor  
a.D.
- 62. Jung, Albert
- 63. Kreis, Prof. W.
- 64. Mangoldt, Dr. K. von
- 65. Schmidt, K., Dresdner  
Werkstätten für Handwerkskunst  
(\*founder of Hellerau)

**Düsseldorf**

- 66. Marcus, Dr. Alfred
- 67. Rohde, Konrad (Rechnungsrat)

**Eisenach**

- 68. Bilfinger, Dr. (Sanitätsrat)

**Elbing**

- 69. Neufeld, Otto (Ingenieur)

**Frankfurt a.M.**

- 70. Dornblüth, Otto (Dr. med.)
- 71. Epstein, Fritz (Architekt)
- 72. Hallgarten, Charles L.
- 73. Koch, Joh.
- 74. Latscha, Jakob
- 75. Lösch, Otto
- 76. Merton, Wilh.
- 77. Sommer, Carl

**Freiburg i.B.**

- 78. Koehler, Jean (Dr. med.)

**Friedberg**

- 79. Weckerling (Medizinrat)

**Friedrichshagen**

- 80. Boelsche, Wilhelm

**Friedenau**

- 81. Lux, Dr. H.
- 82. Mann, Karl
- 83. Mehner, Frau Dr.

**Fichtenau**

- 84. Tautz, Robert

**Gablonz**

- 85. Rössler, Oskar, (Ingenieur)

**Garzau b. Rehfelde**

- 86. Kampffmeyer, Bernhard
- 87. Kampffmeyer, Frau Adele
- 88. Krebs, Heinrich
- 89. Wallroth, Otto

**Göttingen**

- 90. Deneke, Dr. (Rechtsanwalt)

**Graz**

- 91. Bernuth, L. von (Civil-  
Ingenieur)

**Grünberg**

- 92. Krebs, Fritz (Ingenieur)

**Haag**

- 93. Bruijn, J. L.

**Halensee**

- 94. Dost, Richard
- 95. Winsch (Dr. med.)

**Halle a.S.**

- 96. Hannemann, Frl. Marie
- 97. Th. Lehmann & G. Wolff,  
Baumstr.

**Hamburg**

- 98. Kessinger, Fr.
- 99. Bertelt, Robert

**Hannover**

- 100. Abendroth, A. (Ober-  
Landmesser und Kultur-  
Ingenieur)
- 101. König, Max (Schriftsteller)
- 102. Rehse, Adolf (Handelslehrer)

**Hermsdorf (Mark)**

- 103. Landauer, Gustav

**Hildburghausen**

- 104. Kost, Dr.

**Hohenaspe (Holstein)**

- 105. Pohlmann, A.



**Schloss Jessen, Bez. Halle**

106. Raschig, Toni

**Karlshorst**

107. Köhn, Otto

**Karlsruhe**

108. Kampffmeyer, Hans (Maler)

109. Mombert, Dr. Paul

110. Stephani, Erich (Maler)

111. Stephani, Frl. Joh.

**Kassel**

112. Krebs, Frau E.

113. Klein-Eichholz (Post Prieros)

114. Meyer, Lothar  
(Rittergutsbesitzer)**Klein-Silsterwitz**

115. Heintze, Paul

**Kolzig (Schlesien)**116. Klitzing, W. von  
(Rittergutsbesitzer)**Königsberg i.Pr.**117. Wichulla, Arthuer (Kultur-  
Ingenieur)

118. Krah (Regierungsbaumeister)

**Königshütte (Schlesien)**

119. Silber, Dr.

**Korinth (Dänemark)**

120. Wöldike, Frl. Gurli

**Krefeld**

121. Buschhüter, K. (Architekt)

**Haus Leerbach bei Berg.-Gladbach**122. Zanders, Frau Anna (\*founder of  
Gartensiedlung Gronauer Wald)**Leipzig**123. Fritsch, Th. (Ingenieur)  
(\*author of *Die Stadt der Zukunft*)

124. Leipziger Bauzeitung

125. Schneider, J. (Dr. med.)

126. Voerster, A.

**Lemberg**

127. Gargas, Dr. Sigm.

**London**

128. Erhardt, W.

**Lübeck**

129. Wallroth, Dr. Erich

**Magdeburg**

130. Mieschel, Wilh.

131. Neubauer, Herman.

132. Rex, Wilh.

**Mainz**

133. David, Frau Gertrud

**Meiningen**

134. Storch, Prof. Dr.

**Mülheim (Ruhr)**

135. Schimmelpfang

**München**

136. Hirth, Dr. Georg

137. Ludwig, Alois

138. Schroeder-Buttgereit, Frau  
Luise**Münder**

139. Falkenberg, A.

**Münster**140. Hercher (Dr. ing., Reg.-  
Baumeister)**Naumburg (Queiss)**

141. Kampffmeyer, Curt (Prediger)

142. Kampffmeyer, Martin  
(Mühlenbesitzer)**Neumark (Sachsen)**

143. Krebs, Heinrich

**Nieder-Schönhausen**

144. Wallroth, Frau M.

**Ober-Steinbach bei Scheinfeld**145. Schwerin, Alb. von, (Dr. jur.  
Legationsrat)**Oberwartha-Cossebaude**

146. Arndt-Oberwartha, Fritz

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147. Jackisch, Otto

148. Schuster, Frau Ida

**Pankow**

149. Kampffmeyer, Frl. Elise

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150. Stümges, F. W.

**Rixdorf**

151. Salneit, Paul

152. Treichel, Frau Ida

**Saalbeck bei Kösen**153. Schultze-Naumburg, Prof. Paul  
(\*co-founder of Bund Heimatschutz  
and author of *Kulturarbeiten*)

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- 154. Breithaupt, Dr. Gustav
- 155. Caro, Hugo (Rechtsanwalt)
- 156. Otto, Adolf

**Schmargendorf**

- 157. Fidus (Maler)

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- 158. Wilhelmi, Bruno

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- 160. Spohn, H.

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**Trier**

- 165. Proppe, Hans (Architekt)
- 166. Tessenow, Heinrich (Architekt)
- (\*one of the architects at Hellerau)

**Ulm**

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**Weimar**

- 168. Bode, Dr. W.

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- 169. Horneffer, Alwine

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- 172. Gossmann, H.

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- 176. Hülsen, Reinhold
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5. Badestein, Fritz
6. Bölsche, Wilhelm, Friedrichshagen
7. Breithaupt, Dr. Gustav, Schlachtensee
8. Brouckère, Fräulein Elise de.
9. Bohn, P. Lic.
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11. David, Frau Gertrud, Friedenau
12. Deutsch, Adolf
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21. Goecke, Prof. Th. (Landesbaurat)
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24. Günther, Dr. Ernst, Gr.-Lichterfelde
25. Guttmann. Albrecht, Charlottenburg
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29. Hirschfeld, Magnus (Dr. med.), Charlottenburg
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31. Jaerschki (Dr. med.)

<sup>4</sup> Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, *Geschäfts-Bericht 1904-1905* (Schlactensee: Verlag der Deutschen Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft), 5 [Magistratskaten MA S2.263, Bd. II, no. 86, 16-22, Institut für Stadtgeschichte (Frankfurt)].

32. Jordan (Dr. med.)  
 33. Kampffmeyer, Frl. Elise, Pankow  
 34. Kahnt (Dr. med.)  
 35. Katzenstein, Simon, Charlottenburg  
 36. Kowal, Erich, Schöneberg  
 37. Kötschke, Pfarrer a.D.  
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 49. Pohlmann, A., Hohenaspe, Potsdam  
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 66. Treichel, Frau Ida  
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 Niederschönhaus.  
 68. Watt, Frl. J.  
 69. Weigelt, C. (Prof. Dr.)  
 70. West, Jul. H., Ingenieur  
 71. Wichulla, Arthur (Landeskultur-  
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 72. Wilhelmi, Bruno, Schönblick  
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 Werkstätten für Handwerkskunst  
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107. Koch, Joh.  
108. Kurka, R.  
109. Latscha, Jakob  
110. Leob, Moritz  
(Verlagsbuchhändler)  
111. Lösch, Otto  
112. Merton, Wilh.  
113. Sommer, Carl
- Freiburg i.B.**  
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115. Bauer (Postassistent)  
116. Brefeld, v. (Excellenz)  
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129. Hülsmann, C. (Fabrikant)  
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131. Liefmann, Prof. Dr.  
132. Mühlbach, R. (Architekt)  
133. Muth (Geh. Reg.-Rat.)  
134. Pilzecker, Dr. (Augenarzt)  
135. Reicher (Architekt)
136. Reischach (Graf v., Hauptmann  
a.D.)  
137. Renner (Privatier)  
138. Reumely (Dr. med.)  
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140. Schmidt, R. (Architekt)  
141. Schneider, Dr. (Arzt)  
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143. Vizthum (Fabrikant)  
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(Landgerichtspräsident a.D.)  
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Sprache)
- Friedberg**  
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149. Kampffmeyer, Frau Adele  
150. Krebs, Heinrich  
151. Wallroth, Otto
- Gera**  
152. Müller, Leo
- Schloss Gotthart (Ob.-Graz)**  
153. Dennig, Heinrich  
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Ingenieur)
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156. Krebs, Fritz (Ingenieur)
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157. Peterson (Gutsbesitzer)
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158. Bruijn, J. L.
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161. Hoppe, Julius  
162. Th. Lehmann & G. Wolff,  
Baumstr.

**Hamburg**

- 163. Bertelt, Robert
- 164. Kessinger, Fr.

**Hannover**

- 165. Abendroth, A. (Oberlandmesser und Kultur-Ingenieur)
- 166. König, Max (Schriftsteller)
- 167. Rehse, Adolf (Handelslehrer)

**Hildburghausen**

- 168. Kost, Dr.

**Hüls bei Krefeld**

- 169. Lichtenberg, Jos. (Maler u. Architekt)

**Schloss Jessen, Bez. Halle**

- 170. Raschig, Toni
- 171. Jüchen
- 172. Pferdmeinger, Heinr. (Direktor)

**Karlsruhe**

- 173. Acras, G. (Schuhmachermeister und Chorsänger)
- 174. Amman (praktischer Ingenieur)
- 175. Antoni, F. (Domänen-Rat.)
- 176. Auer, H. (Maschinist)
- 177. Baethge, W.
- 178. Barth, Fr. (Kunstmaler)
- 179. Bauer, H. (Chorsänger)
- 180. Baum, Dr. Marie, Fabrikinspektorin (\*close personal friend of Hans Kampffmeyer; active in the women's movement)
- 181. Baumeister, Prof. (Oberbaurat)
- 182. Beck, K. (Uhrmacher)
- 183. Bege, Oskar (Revisor)
- 184. Benedickt, H. (Hofschauspieler)
- 185. Betzel, Gustav
- 186. Biehler, J. (Bahnbauinspektor)
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- 188. Bindschädel (Maurermeister)
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- 191. Bodenmüller, A. (Opernsänger)
- 192. Böhringer, K. (Verwaltungs-Gehilfe)
- 193. Brahls, H.
- 194. Braun, A.
- 195. Braun, W. (Bautechniker)
- 196. Briesenmeister

- 197. Bürklin, A. (Gehiemer Rat., Excellenz)
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- 199. Crecelius (Kunstmaler)
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- 202. Deschner, E. (Schreibgehilfe)
- 203. Deugler, B. (Schreiner)
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- 205. Dittes, Chr. (Stationsverwalter)
- 206. Ducca, Dr. W.
- 207. Eisenlohr (Finanzassessor)
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- 209. Elsas, M. (Kaufmann)
- 210. Emele (Realschullehrer)
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- 212. Ernst, L. (Zimmermann)
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- 214. Ettliger, Dr. Fr. (Fabrikant) (\*co-founder of Gartenvorstadt Karlsruhe)
- 215. Ettliger, L. (Kaufmann)
- 216. Fischer, A. (Dr. med.)
- 217. Forst, R. (Fabrikdirektor)
- 218. Fridlin, A. (Mechaniker)
- 219. Frick, P. (Buchdrucker)
- 220. Fuchs, Dr. R. (Baurat)
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- 222. Gebhardt, Joh. (Orchesterdiener)
- 223. Gebhardt, Jos. (Theatermaler)
- 224. Gebhardt, Jul (Hofmusiker)
- 225. Geiger, A. (Schriftsteller)
- 226. Geiger, E. (Ingenieur, Fabrikant)
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- 228. Goldschmidt, A. (Verwaltungs-Beamter)
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- 232. Haas, Dr. (Rechtsanwalt)
- 233. Haber, F. (Prof.)
- 234. Hallego (Hofschauspieler)

235. Händel, Dr. (Rechtsanwalt)  
 236. Hasslinger (Prof.)  
 237. Hausrath (Prof.)  
 238. Heller, K. (Maler)  
 239. Heilmann, E. (Schlosser)  
 240. Hempel, Ew. (Architekt)  
 241. Herrmann, Dr. (Fabrikant)  
 242. Hildebrandt, Frau Berta, Ettlingen  
 243. Hirth, F. J. (Maschinist)  
 244. Homburger, Dr.  
 245. Hutt, D. (Chorsänger)  
 246. Jäckle, M. (Schreiner)  
 247. Justiz (Kunstmaler)  
 248. Kampffmeyer, Hans (Maler)  
 249. Kampmann, Prof. (Maler)  
 250. Kanoldt, A.  
 251. Karle, O. (Kaufmann)  
 252. Kayser, H. (cand. arch.)  
 253. Kitiratschky, K. (Regier.-  
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 257. Köhler, Dr. A. (Kaufmann)  
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 260. Kundt, E. (Buchhändler)  
 261. Lahn, K. (Hofmusiker)  
 262. Langhein (Kunstmaler)  
 263. Lauinger, J. (Schreiner)  
 264. Leth, v. (Kunstmaler)  
 265. Levy, L. (Baurat, Prof.)  
 266. Lippe (Redakteur)  
 267. Lorenz (Bauprakt.)  
 268. Maasdorf, W. (Fabrikant)  
 269. Maler, H. (Maschinist)  
 270. Misch, F. jun.  
 271. Mattenklott (Regierungs-Rat.)  
 272. Mombert, Dr. Paul  
 273. Mombert, Frau Auguste  
 274. Moericke, Dr. (\*lawyer for the city  
 of Mannheim and instrumental in  
 founding Gartenvorstadt Mannheim)  
 275. Moericke, Gertrud  
 276. Müller, L. (Hofopernsouffleur)  
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 290. Riegger (Rechnungsrat)  
 291. Ries (Stadtgardendirektor)  
 292. Riesenfeld, E. P. (stud. arch.)  
 293. Richler (Bauinspektor)  
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 298. Schmidt, F. (Regierungs-  
 Baumeister)  
 299. Schmidt, Fr. V.  
 (Geschäftsführer)  
 300. Schmidthermer, P. (Architekt)  
 (\*probably Paul Schmithenner, architect  
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 304. Sierks, Hans (Bauingenieur)  
 305. Steinberg (Kunstmaler)  
 306. Stephani, Erich (Maler)  
 307. Strefel, G. (Garderobier)  
 308. Sushe, O. (Hofmusiker)  
 309. Stürzenacker, A. (Prof. Arch.)  
 310. Süs, W. (Kunstmaler)  
 311. Süsse, O. (Hofmusiker)  
 312. Taucher, K. (Bildhauer)  
 313. Teuffel, Emma Frelin v.  
 314. Teuffel, Freiherr v. (Baurat)  
 315. Theile, R. (Obergarderobier\_

316. Thomas, Hans (Prof. Dr.)  
(\*professor at the Kunstakademie in  
Karlsruhe; taught Hans Kampffmeyer)
317. Throm (Ingenieur pract.)
318. Valdemaire, A. (Architekt)
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334. Wirminghaus, Prof. Dr. A.
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335. Klitzing, W. von  
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of Die Stadt der Zukunft)
344. Leipziger Bauzeitung
345. Voerster, A.
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- Mannheim-Ludwigshafen**
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<sup>5</sup> *Gartenstädte, Erste Flugschrift der Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft.* (Berlin-Schlachtensee: Deutsche Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft, 1903.

<sup>6</sup> *Gartenstadt: Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gartenstadtgesellschaft, Zugleich ständige Beilage der Zeitschrift »Hohe Warte«* (1906-1907), 4.

5. **David, Gertrud**, Schriftstellerin, Friedenau
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## Appendix B: Gartenstadt Hellerau Questionnaire and Results<sup>1</sup>

### Questionnaire for the Workers of the “Dresdener Werkstätten für Handwerkskunst” regarding the foundation of a housing colony in Klotzsche near Dresden.

In the coming years, the “Dresdener Werkstätten für Handwerkskunst” (Dresden Workshops for Handicraft) will relocate from Dresden to Klotzsche. It is desirable that a large number of the workers also relocate. For this purpose, the foundation of a housing colony will accompany the building of the factory. The Siebener Commission (Commission of Seven) has undertaken this task. In order to implement the plan, they will necessarily need extensive information about

- a) the current housing conditions of the workers of the Dresdener Werkstätten
- b) their wishes regarding the housing to be built in Klotzsche

They direct the following questionnaire to the workers of the D.W.f.H. and request the greatest possible detail and exactness in the answering of the questions posed. They would also like to advise that the answering of these questions in no way constitutes an obligation.

Questions:

- 1) Are you married or single?  
If married, how many children?  
Or do you intend to marry within the next 2 years?
- 2) Are you willing to relocate to Klotzsche?
- 3) Do you currently live in Dresden or in the countryside (surrounding Dresden)?  
(The exact place and street desired)
- 4) How much rent do you pay now?
- 5) How much do you pay yearly for transportation (streetcar, railroad) to and from your place of work? Or do you use a bicycle?
- 6) How many rooms (kitchen, chambers, parlor) are currently at your disposal?  
How large are your rooms? (dimensions in square meters)
- 7) Do you have lodgers? How many?  
How large is the rented room? (dimensions in square meters)
- 8) How much do you think you could contribute for your apartment in the country?
- 9) Would you take lodgers there? How many?

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<sup>1</sup> Nachlaß Richard Riemerschmid I, B-140, Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

10) Do you want to live in a one-, two-, three- or four-family house?

11) How do you imagine the apartment in a single-family house?

Answer the following relation questions:

- a. How large should your dwelling be? (dimensions in square meters)
- b. How many rooms should it have?
- c. How large should the individual rooms be? (dimensions in square meters)
- d. How large above all should the kitchen be?
- e. Should this only serve as a kitchen? Or should this also serve the purposes of daily habitation (the so-called *Wohnküche*)?  
 Note It should be considered that with the enlargement of the kitchen, the size of other rooms must be reduced in order to maintain the same overall space!
- f. Should the rooms be connected to each other or should they only be accessible from the corridor in order to have more wall area in the living room?
- g. What would you like the room heights to be? Will 250-270 cm be enough?

12) What appurtenances would you like with your dwelling? Do you want:

- a. Cellar for the storage of food?
- b. Storage room?
- c. Stall for goats or pigs?
- d. Stalls for chickens or doves?
- e. Shed for the storage of heating materials?

Note: It should be considered that the more appurtenances provided, the higher the corresponding increase in the rent, or, if the rent stays the same, the greater the reduction in the dimensions of the rooms.

13) If possible, please draw a small plan of your current dwelling including dimensions in square meters, as well as a plan of your desired dwelling.

*The Commission of Seven*

Dresdner Werkstätten für Handwerkskunst.

Dresden, 3 December 1906.

Professor Richard Riemerschmid  
München-Pasing.  
 Lützowstrasse 1.

Dear Mr. Riemerschmid!

The Commission of Seven takes the liberty of conveying the results of the questionnaire. In so far as these results can be organized in a table, they have been. An example of this table with the necessary explanation is enclosed. What cannot be communicated in a table, we have appended in a short summary. This includes results of the questionnaire and also details derived from meetings of the Commission of Seven or discussed in informal conversations among those interested in the coming work.

We have accordingly taken great pains to explain your wishes regarding the colony project as well as the current and future living conditions of the workers of the Dresdener Werkstätten down to the smallest detail. It is self-explanatory that the results of these discussions are still in many cases in need of further explanation. We do not believe that we have found a final solution with our proposals and desires but rather expect a useful result from their implementation. All that we have to offer you are mere details and evidence, questions and proposals. To find the answers and solutions is a task that we must trustingly cede to your artistic abilities.

As we have heard from Mr. Schmidt, you will come to Dresden during the course of this month. This will be a good opportunity to talk through the individual points more thoroughly. Perhaps it would be good, if you took a preliminary look at the table and the accompanying explanation. We believe that soon the main features of the colony buildings can be determined in their essentials.

Allow us to report on the following activities of the Commission of Seven:

- 1) The questionnaire was completed in two sessions of the Commission of Seven, revised by Dr. Dohrn and then 250 copies were made. On Tuesday an informal meeting of all the salaried employees and workers was announced. The questionnaire was distributed the day before and then explained by the members of the Commission of Seven at this meeting. Two days later the questionnaire was collected and sorted. The 196 questionnaires received were separated into the following categories:
  - a. Approximately 30 that were completely blank
  - b. Approximately 25 that had partial or unusable information
  - c. Approximately 16 future heads of households (unmarried at this time and therefore not useful for a comparison of their current living conditions and their future married state)
  - d. Current heads of households willing to move to the colony.  
 Among those: 15 that were partially incomplete and therefore initially separated out in the table and the calculations of percentages but still useful.  
 110 that were completely filled out and given first priority in the table and the calculation of percentages.

The results were discussed by the Commission of Seven. You will find them and their explanations in the accompanying table.

In addition the useful plans, which accompanied some of the questionnaires, have been separated out. We will send these to you because they may help inform you more accurately about the desires of the workers.

- 2) Further, according to your wishes, your lecture on the worker's dwelling was read in the meeting and individual points were discussed. You will find the results in the summary.
- 3) We have perused the plans placed at our disposal and asked Mr. Bartsch, a member of the Commission, to enlarge two that seemed particularly appropriate so that they could be hung on the wall for the meeting of the workshop and explained by Mr. Bartsch. The designs can be found on sheets no. 5 and 6.
- 4) Two members of the commission, along with Dr. Dohrn, visited the workers' colony of the Hülsmann Firm in Altenbach near Wurzen i. Sa.. We have seen there, what we do not want to do. Mr. Hülsmann spoke to his ruler one day: "Go and build me a workers' colony." And the ruler went and divided the ground into 57 equal parcels, laid two parallel streets through them and built on every building site a double house (every one with a small kitchen with wash cauldron, a parlor, a living room, and a small hole of a cellar). The entire thing as cheerless and unkind, as if men were goods and dwellings warehouses.

This is in large measure an overview of our activities up to this time. We return, with our thanks, the material you provided and thank you especially for your active interest in the colony project.

With highest respects on behalf of the Commission of Seven

Otto Geihlsler  
Vice-President



**Enclosure No. 3**  
**General Explanation of the Tables**

The purpose of this table is to determine the relationship of the current and future living conditions of the heads of household among the workers of the Dresdener Werkstätten. The table shows:

- a) A category regarding the current dwelling (with subsections for rent and transportation costs, total dimensions of the dwelling, size and number of rooms)
- b) A second category for future dwellings (rent for one-, two-, three- or four-family houses, total dimensions of the dwellings, room heights, size and number of appurtenances)
- c) Difference between the current and future dwelling for each individual household (price and size of dwelling)
- d) Configuration of the living rooms and special remarks

The table summarizes the results of the 110 questionnaires that through their complete responses allowed a thorough comparison. This accounts for  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the table and ends with a double slash in which the sum of: current and future rent and living space of the 110 heads of households are recorded.

The last quarter of the table includes the results of 15 partially answered questionnaires and 16 future heads of households. In the second table (Enclosure No. 2) you will find the calculation of the average values for:

Current rent and living space

Future rent and living space

as well as information regarding how many of the 110 households reside over or under the mean and by how much.

**Enclosure No. 4**  
**Special Explanation of the Questionnaire**

- 1) The numbers designate only the order of the questionnaires before they were sorted. Their order in the table therefore does not have any meaning. The numbers should be regarded only as identifiers of the individual questionnaires.
- 2) The locations serve for orientation and correct assessment of the rents. The names of the individual heads of households are not known.
- 3) Transportation costs must be considered part of the rent throughout. Likewise, a sum for repairs (ca. 20 Marks) is included for the use of a bicycle. The bracketed rows below show that the respective households have a lodger. The amount of the rent reduced by the amount paid by the lodger was used as the basis of all calculations. The amount paid by the lodgers was assumed to be about 100 Marks.
- 4) Regarding the total size of the dwelling, the entrance hall was estimated to be 4-6 square meters where that information was missing. Small deviations should not enter into considerations. The space eventually to be rented is brought into account.
- 5) For the size and number of rooms, the information was not always precisely taken. Where a number is missing, a *V* indicates the existence, a dash (-) the absence of the room.
- 6) Regarding the future rent, where two prices were given, the higher was used in the table, since this represents the highest threshold.
- 7) The entrance hall is included in the total dimensions of the dwelling.
- 8) For the size and number of rooms, the kitchen, live-in kitchen (*Wohnküche*), parlor (*Stube*) and living room (*Kammer*) are distinguished, although there is no sharp distinction between parlor and living room and they are used interchangeably in the data provided in the questionnaires.
- 9) Size and number of appurtenances are not included in the total dimensions of the dwelling.
- 10) For the deviation, a – indicates a decrease and a + an increase in the future price or the living area.
- 11) With regard to the specific configuration of the rooms, it was asked whether the rooms:
  - a. Should be connected?
  - b. Or accessible only from the hall?
- 12) Under “Special Remarks” you will find several specific requests for laundries, baths, drying areas and location of bedrooms.

**Enclosure No. 5**  
**Individual Points**

A. From the results of the questionnaire:

1. Number who would like to live in a single-family house: 27  
two-family house: 76  
three-family house: 5  
four-family house: 13
2. Number who would like a room height of 250/270 cm.: 54 (almost all 270 cm.)  
280 cm.: 54  
290/300 cm.: 27  
over 300 cm.: 2
3. Number who would like a live-in kitchen (*Wohnküche*): 92  
Kitchen (*Küche*): 44
4. Number who would like
  - a. Cellar (*Keller*) or partial basement: 131
  - b. Basement (*Boden*): 32
  - c. Shed for pigs: 13
  - d. Shed for wood: 95
  - e. Shed for goats: 29
  - f. Chicken coop: 61
5. Number who are willing to pay more: 32  
Number who would like to pay less: 64  
Number who would like to pay the same: 14
6. Number who would like more living space: 19  
Number who would like less living space: 13  
Number who would like the same amount of living space: 7
7. Number who would like interconnected rooms: 101  
Number who would like the rooms to be accessible from a hallway: 11

B. From discussions

**Laundry: Discussion regarding individual laundries or central laundry.**

Objections to a central laundry are as follows:

The women find the unaccustomed transportation of the laundry cumbersome and find it difficult to keep an eye on the children while doing the laundry.

Its location can only be determined once the entire colony is built and not at the beginning.

Individual laundries are easily combined with baths in the house. Good combination of the flange for the greatest possible elimination of dampness and good opportunity for the heating of water in a stove with a built-in boiler.

Recommendations for a central laundry:

Connection to the central heating of the factory building; opportunities for bathing for men and women during separate hours; connection with a kindergarten; cheaper and saves time.

**Kitchen:** *Sommermaschine* and stove; attachment for cooking gas and gas for illumination; table that folds against the wall; corner benches

**Heating:** Is the use of stove and oven for the kitchen and parlor possible?

Greatest possible distribution of the chimney for the utilization of its warmth. Stove benches desired.

**Toilet:** The most convenient and cleanest is the water toilet, with a location either in or attached to the house with a covered entry. Economic considerations particularly in relation to gardening speak against the water closet and for the dry toilet or pit. Further investigation of this item is desired.

**Basement:** Where possible under the kitchen and living room.

**Roof:** Steep, where possible equipped with a drying area

**Stairs:** On no account, too narrow. They must allow for the conveyance of a normal cupboard (*Schrank*). (In the exhibition, the stairs of the workers' dwellings were mostly too small as the moving of the furniture showed.)

**Windows:** Preferably wide and low rather than high and narrow. On no account should the total area be too small. Double windows desired. (In Saxony, we have a lower intensity of light than in Bavaria on account of still air and cloudy skies as well as an atmosphere afflicted with the smoke of industry.)

Southern exposure, bays (*Erker*), built-in wall cabinets and every type of artistic decoration are desired, as are a garden, a shed for wood and tools and a rain barrel since the price of water per cubic meter is fairly high, and rain water is good for use in the garden.

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### Rent Statistics for 110 Households

	Current Monthly Rent (Marks)	Renters		Future Monthly Rent (Marks)	Renters
58	111-120	0	68	111-120	1
under the average	121-130	0	under the average	121-130	0
	131-140	0		131-140	0
	141-150	4		141-150	3
	151-160	1		151-160	1
	161-170	5		161-170	1
	171-180	8		171-180	9
	181-190	4		181-190	0
	191-200	7		191-200	34
	201-210	5		201-210	5
	211-220	9		211-220	3
	221-230	7	Average 228	221-230	11
	231-240	8		231-240	4
Average 241	241-250	11		241-250	13
	251-260	8		251-260	1
52	261-270	10	42	261-270	2
above the average	271-280	4	above the average	271-280	5
	281-290	2		281-290	1
	291-300	4		291-300	13
	301-310	5		301-310	-
	311-350	3		311-350	3
	350-400	3		350-400	-
	over 400	2		over 400	-

### Apartment Dimensions for 110 Households:

	Dimensions in square meters	Current Dwelling		Dimensions in square meters	Future Dwelling	
	19-28	1	55	27-36	1	53
	29-38	10	average	37-46	9	average
Average	39-48	44	or below	47-56	43	or below
	49-58	41		57-66	38	
	59-68	13	55	67-76	11	57
	69-78	1	above	77-86	3	above
	79-88	0	average	87-96	2	average
	89-98	0		97-106	3	

### Average Apartments:

Current: 241.35 Marks 48.87 square meters

Future: 228.62 Marks 57.10 square meters

Difference -12.73 Marks +8.23 square meters